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ABSTRACT

A comparative study is reported of basic education in 10 African countries: Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, Uganda, Zambia, Benin, Mali, Upper Volta, and Angola. Basic education is defined as learning experiences to which all citizens are entitled or which are required to help them develop their potential to function effectively as individuals and members of society. Data sources include findings of seminars on basic education and teacher training for basic education and other relevant documents of the UNESCO/UNICEF Cooperation Programme in Africa. The report focuses on definitions of terms; trends in international, national, and regional philosophies of basic education; African educational efforts in the schools; teacher training; and basic education efforts for the unschooled adult and rural poor. The list of 23 findings suggests that experiments in basic education have not made a major impact on the national level. Two philosophical trends were identified: one, that basic education should occur principally through the formal educational system; two, that basic education should occur through the adult community outside school and college. Concerns which influence basic education are resistance to change, sub-regional political demands, economic growth, and poverty and privation. Finally, a good primary system is perceived as the most vital target for the general health and energy of a nation. (KC)

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TRENDS IN INNOVATION : BASIC EDUCATION IN AFRICA

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CONTENTS

	Paragraphs
INTRODUCTION	1 - 2.9
Terms of Reference	1.1 - 1.3
Structure of the Study	2. - 2.9
PART I	
DEFINITIONS AND COUNTRIES SELECTED FOR STUDY	3 - 4.5
Definitions	3 - 3.15
Countries Selected	4 - 4.4
PART II	
TRENDS IN THOUGHT ON BASIC EDUCATION	5 - 9.7
INTERNATIONAL AND REGIONAL	
Some Principal Sources	5 - 5.2
Conferences	6 - 6.9
Studies	7 - 7.11
Unesco/Unicef Co-operation Programme	8 - 8.14
Some Observations	9 - 9.7
PART III	
TRENDS IN THOUGHT ON BASIC EDUCATION	10 - 13.33
NATIONAL	
Identifiable Indications of Guides to Action	10- 10.36
Beneficiaries' View of their Needs	11- 11.7
Objectives	12- 12.20
Assumptions	13- 13.33
PART IV	
ACTION IN BASIC EDUCATION	14 - 21.17
Scenario of Efforts	14 - 14.12
The Four Main Types in the African Experience	15 - 15.30
Lessons from the African Experience	16 - 16.10
Current Action	17 - 17.33
Finance	18 - 18.9
Institutional Holding Power	19 - 19.16
Curriculum	20 - 20.30
Training of Educational Personnel	21 - 21.17

Paragraphs

PART V

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS 22 - 23.5

Findings 22 - 22.23

Recommendations 23 - 23.5

ANNEX

PROCEDURE FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF A BASIC EDUCATION PROGRAMME IN A DEPRIVED COMMUNITY

TRENDS IN INNOVATION : BASIC EDUCATION IN AFRICA

I N T R O D U C T I O N

1. Terms of Reference

1.1 The Unesco General Conference at its twentieth session directed that, following the recommendations made by the Conference of African Ministers of Education held in Lagos in 1976,

> 'a study be carried out on the nature and place of a course of Basic Education as part of the educational reforms of the countries of the African region.'
> (Unesco Programme and Budget Approved, para. 1290)

1.2 Within the framework of this directive, a contract was concluded calling for a comparative study of the innovational elements of Basic Education in a sample of 10 Anglophone, Francophone and Lusitanophone countries in Africa. The study was to take into account

(a) the concept and strategy of basic services recommended by the General Assembly of the United Nations (1976);

(b) Recommendation 14 of the Conference of African Ministers of Education (Lagos 1976);

(c) the findings of seminars on Basic Education (Nairobi 1974) and on teacher training for Basic Education (Dar-es-Salaam 1975 and Bujumbura 1977);

(d) other relevant documents of the Unesco/Unicef Co-operation Programme in Africa.

1.3 While the guidance given in the terms of reference has helped to bring out the essentials and emphasis on Basic Education thought and effort, the study is not exhaustive. It uses the information in hand in exploring directions in development in Basic Education.

2. Structure of the Study

2.1 The Study is in five parts.

2.2 Part I is concerned with definitions and countries selected to provide a core for the study of Basic Education in Africa. It brings into focus some indications of what is understood by the operative terms 'trends', 'innovation' and 'Basic Education' in the title of the document. It leads on to the ten countries required by the terms of reference to be selected from Anglophone, Francophone and Lusitanophone states of Africa. It defines 'Educational Strategy' also.

2.3 Part II, Trends in Thought on Basic Education : International and Regional, recapitulates the landmarks in thought, international and regional, which has become available to African countries. These landmarks are identified under three headings :

(a) The work of Conferences, Meetings and Seminars;

(b) Studies; and

(c) An Evolving Unesco/Unicef Co-operation Programme.

2.4 Part II necessarily retraverses familiar ground, but without it only a fraction of the theoretical framework of efforts in Basic Education would be evident in the Study.

2.5 Part III, Trends in Thought : National, is an attempt to show how African thinking, drawing upon the international and regional, has been directed towards formulating guides to national action. One such guide, self-reliance, is placed in its historical setting dating back to the first decades of the century in order to throw into relief the innovative character it acquired in the second half of the century. And this was at a time when available international aid tended to blind many a government to the brutal fact that, in the long run,

African countries will have to work out their own solutions as was demonstrated by their Heads of States and Government in their Lagos Plan of Action of 1980.

2.6 Further, going over some of the concerns of groups of African countries that influence action, Part III indicates that national guides to action are essentially variations on two sets of ideas. The first set emanates from the decision to provide Basic Education through the school system. The main thrust of the second is in work outside that system. As Zambia and Ethiopia offer clear-cut experiences of the two polarized positions, the former in its recent proposals and recommendations for educational reform and the latter in the harsh conditions of resettled people, the two countries are used to bring out some of the ideas at the two poles on :

(a) the choice of design of curricula;

(b) beneficiaries' view of their needs;

(c) objectives; and

(d) both validity and value assumptions behind action.

2.7 Part IV, Action in Basic Education, looks at types of Basic Education in a scenario of efforts through :

(a) the school;

(b) teacher-training to the school;

(c) some measures for the education of the unschooled adult and the rural poor.

It taps information from the African experience in such efforts in history, thereby drawing attention to some of the lessons that may be learnt. Against this background, Part IV turns to current action as may be seen under organization (mainly structure), curriculum and the training of personnel which may be regarded as the three main prongs of an educational strategy.

2.8 Part IV is necessarily briefer than the current efforts would seem to justify. It does not constitute a complete presentation of relevant activities even in a limited number of countries. To have attempted such a description would have required some field study to fill in gaps in the documentary material available as regards both the latest status in documented facts and current undocumented information. Any omission of vitally relevant information should, it is hoped, lead to an exchange of experiences to make the story as full as possible. This apologia applies to Part V as well.

2.9 Part V comprises Findings and Recommendations.

PART I

DEFINITIONS AND COUNTRIES SELECTED FOR STUDY

3. Definitions

3.1 The operative terms in the title of the Study, 'trends', 'innovation' and 'Basic Education' are very much a part of the vocabulary currently being used to describe features and problems of African education. 'Educational strategy' is another term which is often employed to hold together various courses of action in the provision of education and under which much of what is taking place in Basic Education might be seen. All these four terms are acquiring a wide variety of interpretations. Below is an attempt to narrow the limits within which each of them may be understood to apply as far as this Study is concerned.

(a) Trends

3.2 By 'trends' one means the directions which can be detected in thought being exercised and effort being made to mediate what, in the present context, is called Basic Education. Thought and action, to be regarded as trends, must have some identifiable beginnings. They must also show a degree of acceptability guaranteeing them continuity. They are detectable in history, where they exist.

(b) Innovation

3.3 A helpful approach to an understanding of the word 'innovation' may be found in two works of H.M. Phillips, Unicef Aid for Education, Review of Policy, 16 March 1972 and Basic Education, A World Challenge, London 1975.

3.4 Phillips distinguishes between the term 'innovation' in ordinary use and in the more technical sense as applied in industry. In most people's minds - and this applies to governments as well - the word innovation when applied to education

means any progressive and original course of action by teachers or educational authorities. In the more technical sense, it is not simply a question of an imaginative individual or individuals trying out new ideas on facets of administration and organization, curriculum construction and techniques of teaching, and preparation of educational personnel, in short, on any of the components of an educational strategy. It is closer to what industry means when an innovation takes place, which may be spontaneous or the result of research. A study of the feasibility of adopting the invention is made, followed by tests and trials to the point at which adoption on a wider scale is proved to be possible, and finally by production.

(c) Basic Education

3.5 The term 'Basic Education' is used in Africa to mean different things. However, one finds a common core of elements, which the 'rationale' presented to African countries in a recent survey under the Unesco/Unicef Co-operation Programme helps to identify. In this survey, Basic Education was, in essence, taken to mean 'the education' or the learning experiences and the opportunity of exposure to them, 'which all citizens are entitled to' or are required by groups of individuals in varying circumstances, to help them to develop their potential for leading 'a reasonably human life as individuals and to function contentedly and effectively in society, the society referred to being their own, and the o[illegible] in which the majority is likely to spend most of their lives'.[1)]

3.6 This means that Basic Education, on the one hand, is equated to the best that can be done for youths in school in the course of a stipulated first part, in terms of number of years of the school system, albeit in the perspective of life-long education. This first stage can be terminal for some while preparing others,

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1) Unesco/Unicef Co-operation Programme : Survey, Rationale Nairobi, February 1979, para. 4).

at the same time, for further education.[1)]

3.7 Basic Education, on the other hand, can be of a kind which enables young people and adults who do not benefit, or did not benefit sufficiently, from school attendance, to learn to develop their potential for effective individual and social living, in some organised manner that may be completely different from, or use differently, indigenous educational content, methods and techniques.

3.8 Teachers, including governmental educational personnel of one kind or another, determine what is best for youth in school. The individual and social conscience are, in the final analysis, the arbiters of what is effective individual and social living. Decisions in both cases, however, are subject to community values in their four categories - those the community share with other communities and are valid for all places and all times; those that are valid for one period of time and not another; those that have been peculiarly their own for all time; and finally values that are in the process of being born. In the circumstances, Basic Education cannot have an all-time definition. Indeed, it is being defined and must be re-defined as part of 'a .... process of interaction and change, finding expression and definition in somewhat modified ways in diverse socio-cultural situations'.[2)]

3.9 Moreover, Basic Education is not seen in isolation. It is one of essential services for the individual; and its purpose of helping to develop human capabilities stands in danger of being

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1) Report - Meeting of Experts on the Basic Cycle of Study, 24-29 June 1974, Paris 2 August 1974, para. 17.

2) Unesco/Unicef Co-operation Programme : Survey of Basic Education in Eastern Africa, Nairobi 1980, p.4.

seriously undermined unless the other services such as primary health care, safe water, environmental sanitation and adequate nutrition complement and reinforce it. It stands to reason that there can be no single model for providing Basic Education either as a service by itself or as one of several basic services. A two-fold requirement is, however, indispensable. First, it is human need that should determine the nature of the response. Secondly, no response can be adequate, let alone satisfying, to people in need, unless it ensures a measure of services including education that are conceived as an available package.[1)]

3.10 Care has to be exercised, nevertheless, lest human need be simplistically equated to a package of safe water, better environmental sanitation and the like at the material level only. To the father in Lesotho or Mozambique, for example, who has to leave home and family and, for several months, work in South African mines, need is much more complex than that. His need is bound up with the concerns of a group of countries in the sub-region. Among these are the concern to decrease economic dependence on South Africa - a point taken up later - to create more jobs at home; to offer him the opportunity to end long separations from his family; to grow more food to feed the populace; and to develop the necessary human resources, with the skills and attitudes, for servicing plans that will achieve such ends as well as those pertaining to safe water etc.

3.11 Nor are concerns of groups of countries made any easier to resolve by problems that are present in practically any African country. These include 'educational and institutional deficiencies that co-exist with low life expectancy, high fertility, inefficient investment and slow agricultural progress'[2)]. Development of the

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1) cf. A Strategy for Basic Services, New York 1976, p.7.

2) IBRD/World Bank : World Development Report 1980, Washington 1980, p.85.

required human resources is necessary in this connection, too.

3.12 In the light of the foregoing, whatever else Basic Education is, it is understood in this document to be an ordered service available to, and requiring the participation of, individuals and groups of individuals, for the purpose of developing the requisite human resources for individual and social living in an extending environment. It cannot be said to be innovative just because it is making available to many more people what there is by way of formal school education or adult literacy programmes or out-of-school vocational training for youths. It is innovative if it endeavours to meet in new ways or forms aspects of need in the three dimensions mentioned above - the immediately material, the dimension of concerns shared with other countries and the pre-occupations of the entire African region.

3.13 Moreover, trends are detectable if the new ways or forms are known to be repeated elsewhere and can be seen within a time-scale and educational strategies which are known to be working. As action in Basic Education will be seen in terms of educational strategies, it will be useful to say what is meant by the term.

(d) Educational Strategy

3.14 Educational strategy is taken in this Study basically to comprise three principal elements, organization, the preparation of personnel and the curriculum. By curriculum one means, at its simplest, the learning experiences, methods and techniques that are brought together on behalf of, and by, those being educated within the school and college system and outside it, that is, in the formal and non-formal educational systems. Educational organization is meant to refer to the arrangements in planning, financing, administering and managing by which the work of education proceeds; it includes facilities and buildings. Curriculum stands first in order of importance as the principal concern of the educator. Organization is meant to service it, while it influences, and is influenced by, the preparation of educational personnel.

3.15 Inevitably the elements are inseparable in practice, but the fact that this is so should not obscure the importance of the primary role of curriculum. What the learners learn (inclusive of what is sometimes called 'the hidden curriculum') is more important than what educational personnel think they mediate or the goals which they purport to meet.[1]

1) G.N. Brown : An Educational Strategy for Reducing Conflict ... in African Education in Conflict and Harmony in Education in Tropical Africa, Allen and Unwin 1975, p.422.

4. Countries Selected

4.1 Neither time nor space would allow for full references to historical and contemporary factors behind the effort in Basic Education of each of the countries selected. One such factor, which is considered at this stage within the terms of reference, is part of the phenomena of historical links with Europe which have not only led to the adoption of English, French, Spanish and Portuguese as working languages and languages of education but tended to unite certain countries and to separate them from others too. The phenomena also bring together ethnic groups with different mother tongues while separating them from others within the same countries.

4.2 For example, the foreign language provides a common means of communication within the following groups of countries as well as separating them :

Anglophone	Francophone	Lusitanophone
Ethiopia	Benin	Angola
Kenya	Mali	
Somalia	Upper Volta	
Sudan		
Uganda		
Zambia		

Within each country, there is a dividing belt between those who have been exposed longest to the culture behind the adopted foreign language and others. In many a country, for example in West Africa, this belt in general separates the sphere of influence of Islam on the one hand and that of Christianity on the other. Although this is changing as a result of deeper inter-penetration by the two influences, the problems this fact poses for unity have not diminished. And that is very much behind the clamorous call for ridding the development of human resources of the irrelevant

in the cultural heritage of which the adopted language is only one expression.

4.3 With the call is combined the desire to find new ways of identifying, learning and using the relevant, wherever it may be found within and without the new experiences, not excepting the local physical, cultural and human environment. At a deeper level there is the urge to find alternative ways of knowing in a situation where working models from the western world have themselves suffered some erosion, leading to what President Kaunda of Zambia has described as 'a state of unease', the causes of which are not merely such technical problems as fiscal difficulties but something that has deeper roots - 'a crisis of meaning'.[1] The question is ever present as to how Basic Education of the right kind would help in laying a solid enough foundation to support the search. One is therefore not concerned with Anglophone, Francophone and Lusitanophone countries per se, but groups of countries engaged in a search for meaning.

4.4 At the practical level, a particularly common issue is the point in the educational work at which the language of education should change from the mother tongue of the adopted European working language. The question becomes more complicated when a local language of wide circulation is not available. Under this heading, the countries mentioned above may be regrouped into two, with Somalia and Ethiopia in one group and the rest in a second. Somalia, together with Burundi, Lesotho, Rwanda and Madagascar outside the list of countries selected for study, is able to use a single African mother tongue for Basic Education.[2] It shares this experience, to some extent, with Tanzania and Ethiopia which use an evolving lingua franca, Kiswahili and Amharic respectively.

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1) K.D. Kaunda : Humanism in Zambia, London 1974, pp 2-3.

2) The languages concerned are Somali, Kirundi (Burundi), Sesotho (Lesotho), Kinyarwanda (Rwanda) and Malagasy (Madagascar).

These countries are relieved, up to a point therefore, of part of the burden of the second group of countries and, indeed, of 'the majority of African states living in a situation of linguistic pluralism, the complexity of which is increased by the privileged status of the coloniser's language; English, French, Spanish and Portuguese'.[1] A particular feature of the burden relevant to this Study is that of having to find a shape, form, content for Basic Education while depending on a foreign tongue (and the necessary interpretation and translations that must accompany it) to give expression to thought and communicate it to beneficiaries at the grass roots. How to cope with the burden is a constant feature of thought on Basic Education in all the three groups of countries, which form the core around which revolve the conclusions reached from a study of the documents available.

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1) Report : Meeting of Experts on the Promotion of African Languages in Central and East Africa, 15-21 December 1971, SHC.71/Conf.18/13 28 April 1965, p.5.

PART II

TRENDS IN THOUGHT ON BASIC EDUCATION, INTERNATIONAL AND REGIONAL

5. Some Principal Sources

5.1 Trends in thought on Basic Education have been elaborated upon in available literature.[1)]

5.2 The paragraphs below attempt to place the ideas thus enunciated in a historical context of the Conferences, Meetings, Seminars, Studies and the evolving Unesco/Unicef Co-operation Programme, which have helped to bring the ideas into focus. Using some erstwhile less well-known material, the paragraphs also draw attention to one or two features which have hitherto gone unnoticed, an example being the impact of the Kericho Conference of 1966; Kericho was a national meeting which was converted into an international conference through imaginative planning and the skilful use of international personnel. A second example is the specific part played by the Fourteenth General Conference of Unesco in the genesis of the ideas. A third, taken up in Part III of the Study, is the contribution from Africa itself to the now familiar pool of experience not only through answers to enquiries but also through African doubts, questionings and reactions.

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1) For example : H.W.R. Hawes : Life-long Education, Schools and Curricula in Developing Countries, Unesco Institute of Education, Hamburg 1974; H.M. Phillips : Basic Education A World Challenge, London 1975; K. King : Minimum Learning Needs for the Third World .. Prospects Vol.VI N°1 Unesco 1976 pp. 39-56; M. Botti, M.D. Carelli, M. Saliba : Basic Education in the Sahel Countries, Unesco Institute for Education, Hamburg 1978; A Survey of Basic Education and Unicef's Co-operation in Education in Eastern African Region, Nairobi 1980.

6. Conferences

6.1 Two conferences held in the second half of the 1960s, the Kericho Conference and the Fourteenth General Conference of Unesco, contributed considerably to the lowering of sights from the absorbing concentration in the first half on high-level manpower deemed necessary for the tasks enjoined by political independence. They redirected attention to life at the grass roots.

(a) The Kericho Conference (1966)

6.2 The Conference on Education, Employment and Rural Development, sponsored by the Government of the Republic of Kenya, was held at Kericho in rural surroundings 160 miles north-west of the capital, Nairobi, from 25 September to 1 October 1966. It was a study conference ably serviced by international resource personnel whom the University of Kenya had attracted. In tune with its theme and name, the Conference called for the values and structure of the educational system to be reshaped both to relate more closely to the environment and the needs of adults (author's italics) and children alike and to give a higher emphasis to those educative services which can directly assist productivity and the rural economy.[1)]

6.3 The Conference took the unusual step in its report 'to treat adult education before the formal system and youth services' .... It adopted this order 'because, in its opinion, a more significant contribution to rural development can be made by a much strengthened, more clearly thought-out and effectively co-ordinated service to adults, than by alterations in or expansion of the existing system of primary and secondary education'.[2)] This emphasis was relatively new in African education and basic to the innovative thinking which was to delve more deeply into the role

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1) Report para. 9.

2) Report para. 70.

of non-formal education in the 1970s. It contributed to the trend of thought in Africa that called for change in education of the kind that will permit attainment of objectives in relation to actual needs and situations, it being understood that in countries which are predominantly rural, a major incentive for reform is to gear educational reforms to rural development goals within the overall national system of education so that each and every member of the community may stand to benefit.[1)]

(b) The Fourteenth Session of the Unesco General Conference (1966)

6.4 The Fourteenth Session of the Unesco General Conference held at the end of 1966 provided an international focal point for a discussion of the issues Kericho had tried to face. Resolution 2.342 of the Conference 'authorized the Director-General to establish a pilot project in Africa on rural education in primary schools. The aim of this pilot project was to investigate the possibilities of improving the adaptation of the primary school towards rural development thus ensuring that primary education acts as an agency of development in rural areas. The basis of these adaptations will therefore be those of the full mobilisation of human resources in rural areas and the checking of the drift of rural youth to the cities'.[2)] The principal outcome was the establishment of the Namutamba Project in Uganda which was initially known as 'Rural Education in Primary Schools'[3)] and is accepted by Ugandan educators as an innovative experimental project on education for rural development, and one which 'exemplifies Basic Education'.[4)]

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1) International Education Report : The Experimental Pilot Project on the Role of Education in Rural Development, FMR/ED/EDR/75/101, Paris, July 1975, p.1.

2) Unesco Information Paper APS/825/3103.

3) E.H. Rukare, G.E. Benaars, S.A. Muwonge : The Namutamba Project, Kampala 1974, p.12.

4) W.S. Kajubi : Report on the Eighth Commonwealth Education Conference, August 1980, p.3.

6.5 The name given to this single significant outcome of the General Conference discussion, as far as Africa is concerned, sums up the influence at the General Conference of the assumption rejected at Kericho that the running sore of poverty in the predominantly rural population of the African body politic can be healed through continuing emphasis on the formal educational system, albeit undergoing some reform but certainly expanding. Of course, sectoral provision of functional literacy, crafts, nutrition and health education would be made for youth and women outside the system. But the principal agent of change would be the school.[1)]

6.6 The Fourteenth General Conference of Unesco and the Kericho Conference, therefore, mark a stage in thinking on foundation learning experiences required for development or Basic Education when some crystalisation was taking place in the two main trends currently observable in African efforts with one kind aimed principally at youth within the school system and the second at unschooled youth and adults outside the system. The two kinds were detectable then.

(c) The Nairobi Conference (1968)

6.7 The Conference on Education and Scientific and Technical Training in Relation to Development, held in Nairobi 16-27 July 1968, drew upon the Kericho Conference experience in its organisation and formulation of its basis for discussion. In a bid to be more of a study conference and less of a hortatory kind, its commissions met before, and not concurrently with, plenary sessions after the opening. They made a technical study of problems and 'their reports (culminating in a small number of resolutions) provided a basis for the discussion of certain key items of the agenda during the second week of the Conference in

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1) cf. Objectives of the Plan of Operation of the Namutamba Project.

the presence of Ministers of Education'.[1] Its main working papers reflected some of the principal Kericho conclusions.[2]

6.8 The Conference placed considerable emphasis on work[3] indicating that effort should be directed towards achieving, among other objectives,

(a) a rational view of educational development 'not only in terms of manpower requirements, as had been done so far, but also in terms of employment opportunities';

(b) expansion and improvement of education accompanied by measures to create :

(i) sufficiently attractive conditions of employment;

(ii) improved living and work conditions particularly in rural areas, 'where the greater part of the population lives'.

6.9 The concept, therefore, of a package not only of new and relevant learning experiences but also of employment opportunities that will help improve the quality of life for the majority of African peoples was nascent at Nairobi. Unlike Kericho and like the Fourteenth General Conference, however, Nairobi put its money on the school system, giving expression to a concern for 'change in the orientation and content of primary "ruralisation" of primary education'.[4] The two trends in thought are referred to subsequently as the Nairobi and Kericho trends, the first seeing the way forward as principally through formal educational effort and the second principally through the adult community outside school and college.

1) UNESCO-OAU/CESTA/INF.1.

2) UNESCO-OAU/CESTA/3 para.18; UNESCO-OAU/CESTA/4 paras.20-23.

3) Report, para.23.

4) cf. Report para.30.

7. Studies

7.1 Three studies particularly contributed to what, after Nairobi, became a movement within which the two trends in preference of one or other of the institutional framework of school or community continued to be discernible. They were The World Educational Crisis; The Study of the Capacity of the United Nations Development System, and Learning To Be.

(a) The World Educational Crisis (1968)

7.2 The publication in the year of the Nairobi Conference of The World Educational Crisis gave a studied expression to 'the priority task of non-formal education which the poor countries of the world were facing'. This task, which was implicit in the Kericho conclusions, was 'to bring to the vast numbers of farmers, workers, small entrepreneurs, and others who had never seen the inside of a formal classroom - and perhaps never would - a spate of useful skills and knowledge which they could apply to their own and their nation's development'.[1] In putting this task at the top of a list of priorities that included the upgrading of 'the competence of partially qualified people - teachers, for example', and fitting the schooled jobless for 'some kind of employment with appropriate forms of special training', The World Educational Crisis brought into relief one of the results of the search, in which Kericho had participated, for an alternative to the linear concept of education through school and college.

7.3 This alternative was turning out to be rural and agricultural development supported by Basic out-of-school Education together with the planning and organization which would give it its rightful place in a multi-dimensional process in place of the familiar uni-dimensional conception.[2] An important component of

1) P. Coombs : The World Educational Crisis, OUP 1968, p.142.

2) cf. M.S. Adiseshah : Major Problem Areas of Educational Reform in the 1970s and 1980s.

of the alternative was conceived to be effort that is made where it is most needed and in co-operation with the people most immediately affected. This concept of localisation within the Kericho trend was to be placed and amplified in a much wider context by the next study.

(b) The UNDP Capacity Study (1969) and Some Other Agency Contributions

7.4 The Study of the Capacity of the United Nations Development System, UN Reference DP/5, was published in 1969. Among other conclusions it underlined a growing realisation within the international community that the effectiveness of aid programmes depended on the appropriateness to countries' own development needs and on the efficiency with which they are carried out. This was, in effect, a call for a more effective application of the General Assembly Resolution n°2188 to ensure the greatest benefits for the Third World from funds provided.[1)]

7.5 This study and the "Consensus" on it approved by the Governing Council of the UNDP at its tenth session, 6-30 June 1970, helped to bring thinking (within the two trends mentioned above) closer to considering human need and related questions as the most appropriate point of departure for action. Paragraphs 3 and 7 of the text of the Consensus stated that 'Country Programming will be based on individual national development plans, or, where these do not exist, on national development priorities'. The country requesting assistance would itself formulate it 'in co-operation, at an appropriate stage, with representatives of the United Nations System ....'

7.6 The wisdom of localisation, in the broadest sense of the word, so expressed in the administrative language of principle for funding, was taken up a year later by the Director-General of

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1) G.A. Jackson : Postface in the United Nations System by M. Elmandjra, London 1973, p.331.

Unesco in the language of policy for his Organization. To the Organization's Executive Board he said that a study of needs of Member States was necessary not only to avoid what he called 'pre-fabricated projects' initiated by specialists but also to root projects more deeply in national participation and involvement both in their conception and their implementation.[1] Subsequently, at the Fifty-fifth Session of the Economic and Social Council, he drew attention to what was increasingly coming to determine the momentum of the movement of which the Nairobi and Kericho trends were an inseparable part - the human factor and human need. 'Although economic growth is quite rightly recognised as a necessary condition for development', he said, 'it is no longer considered as sufficient; what counts more and more in people's aspirations and in the view of citizens is the quality of life which this growth requires or allows.'[2]

7.7 Emphasis was coming to be placed on the recognition of man as both the agent and subject of development who should, whatever his circumstances, be a party to decisions as to what his wishes and aspirations are. The thought was, of course, implicit in the International Development Strategy for the Second Development Decade adopted in 1970.[3]

7.8 Public pronouncements apart, the period was marked by much consultation among the specialised agencies of the United Nations Family on the best ways of learning about human needs to be served and of improving on their response. For example, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), Unesco and the International Labour Organization (ILO) not only updated the 1954 Memorandum on Collaboration between the ILO and Unesco in Matters of Technical

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1) Joint Unesco/Unicef Programme, Notes, Comments N°2 : Education and Development of Rural Areas 1973, p.23.

2) R. Maheu : Address DG/71/7, Geneva 8 July 1971, p.2.

3) G.A. 2626(XXXV) of 24 October 1970.

and Vocational Education and Related Matters[1] but also achieved a clarification on the question of primary responsibility for complementary programmes or joint action designed for the promotion of the common goal of economic and social development in the rural area. The criteria agreed as basis for action[2] have become commonplace - among them the promotion of agriculture, including fisheries, forestry and nutrition (FAO), of education (Unesco), and of rural employment (ILO). But at the time, they were the outcome of current agency self-examination to eliminate overlapping and inadvertent rivalry and to improve performance. What is more, the self-examination was itself a part of the ferment of thought regarding participation and involvement of the world's less developed peoples, who needed to be helped to shape their destiny with the assistance of an education which spoke to their condition.

7.9 Agency-inspired meetings on African soil to grapple with related problems intensified. Among them may be mentioned the ILO Third African Regional Conference in Accra, Ghana, in December 1969, which adopted A Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa as one of the components of the Organization's World Employment Programme and the two follow-up meetings on employment policies, one at Dakar in December 1970 and the second at Kericho in May 1971. The accent was very much on rural development and the human factor within it, the essentials of which had been highlighted by the Kericho Conference of 1966. The specific and unequivocal definition of rural development which issued is worth quoting in full at this point :

> "Rural development can tentatively be defined as a technique of socio-economic development which seeks, within the framework of a national plan and within a well-defined geographical framework, to call upon

1) L.H. Evans (Unesco) and D. Morse (ILO), New York 16 October 1954.

2) Joint FAO/Unesco/ILO Advisory Committee in Agricultural Education, Science and Training, SC/Conf.38/2, Paris 30 October 1969.

> various social strata of the population of an area to become aware of their problems, to take the necessary steps, and to transform their environment by the progressive utilisation of a modern technology, so as to integrate the development of their area with the balanced global growth of the country'[1)]

Substitute "appropriate technology" for "modern technology" and we have evidence of an important stage in the increasing refinement of the trend of thought which had been at work in the earlier Kericho Conference.

(c) Learning To Be (1972)

7.10 Much of the thinking within the international community was encapsulated in the subsequent study carried out by the International Commission on the Development of Education whose report, Learning To Be, made the following recommendation :

> Universal Basic Education, in a variety of forms depending on possibilities and needs, should be the top priority for educational policies in the 1970s ...

In their recommendation one sees the two trends being regarded as offering different possibilities all of which have to be considered in an effort to meet human need within, and in spite of, the familiar constraints of limited resources.[2)]

7.11 Learning To Be, as it were, set the seal on a movement in thought in which two trends were distinguishable but destined to remain in adjusted and continually adjusting balance, for the purpose of ensuring that none is without, or deprived of, a service in education necessary to the quality of his life. The search still continues in Africa for a formula on the balance that has to be maintained.

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1) Report : Meeting on Employment Policy, Kericho 3-8 May 1971, p.14 (author's italics).

2) E. Faure : Learning To Be, Unesco 1972, pp.192-193.

8. Unesco/Unicef Co-operation Programme

(a) Some Efforts and Guidelines

8.1 This the Unesco/Unicef Co-operation Programme has endeavoured to assist Member States to do. The latest in a series is the formula offered by the Sub-Regional Seminar on Basic Education which took place at Bamako, Mali, in November 1980, organised jointly by Unesco and Unicef in collaboration with Malian authorities with the object of defining Basic Education that responds to the needs of youth and adults. To the question, what then is Basic Education, the Seminar offered the following :

> 'L'Education de Base peut être définie comme un processus éducatif dynamique qui passe par l'acquisition d'un minimum pratique, nécessaire et utile (variable selon les milieux et les époques et procédant d'une maximisation des efforts et des moyens à mettre en oeuvre), de savoir, de savoir-faire et de savoir-être, permettant à l'individu de s'adapter aux différentes exigences et sollicitations de la vie quotidienne et de participer à l'amélioration qualitative continue du milieu en tant que membre productif et créateur. L'Education de Base constitue à ce titre la phase première de la formation permanente. Dans cette perspective, l'Education de Base est un droit fondamental de tout citoyen, à garantir.'[1)]

The implication is that the youth or adult who has not had Basic Education through the school needs to have it outside it and to build on it when he does have it.

8.2 Leading up to the Bamako Seminar is, of course, two decades of co-operative thought and action. By 1961, the pattern

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1) Draft Report : Bamako Seminar on Basic Education, Bamako November 1980, p.4.

of assistance to Member States, whereby Unesco provided staff advisory services and Unicef supplied equipment for up-grading sub-qualified and untrained primary school teachers, was expanding and reaching out to the needs of children including the learning experiences they required for their development as individuals and members of society. In the year of the Nairobi Conference (1968) already mentioned, Unesco and Unicef agreed on joint guidelines for co-operative assistance to national efforts in education with special reference to science, health, nutrition and physical education; the teaching of practical subjects, and education for international understanding and peace. Indirectly, therefore, attention was being drawn to children's need for learning experiences, other than the three Rs, that would help their full development. Hence to indispensable content for Basic Education.

8.3 The guidelines, however, left certain questions unanswered, for example, was too much effort and money being expended in the poorer countries of the world on the minority in school and still smaller minority in college and too little on the majority who determined by their labour the proportions of productivity in these countries? In other words, was the balance in Basic Education tilting in favour of the Nairobi Approach as against the Kericho? The Joint Recommendations, 16 March 1972, issued by the Director-General of Unesco[1] and the Executive Director of Unicef[2] answered some of these questions and so placed the thinking in the current educational ferment within some sort of framework.

8.4 Under the Recommendations, Unesco/Unicef Co-operative assistance to national efforts in Africa and countries in other continents came to be focussed on under-privileged children seen as being deprived of even the basic minimum educational services. The Joint Recommendations also saw education as inter-locking with

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1) Annex I of 90 EX/7 of August 1972.

2) E/ICEF/624 of April-May 1972.

Health, Nutrition and Welfare in enabling the child to develop as a self-reliant individual and as an effective contributor to society. There is hardly any evidence in the documentation consulted, though, that thinking on non-formal approaches carried anything like the conviction demonstrated at Kericho.

(b) Reinforcement from Two Studies

8.5 However, some reinforcement came from two studies carried out between 1971 and 1974 by the International Council for Educational Development, which surmounted the inhibitions of tradition and focussed on the basic learning needs of :

(a) children and youth, and on the ways of improving the environment and upbringing of vulnerable infants and young children, not through the school, but through the education of their parents and elders mostly outside the school ;

(b) a generally older rural population - mainly small farmers, artisans and craftsmen and small entrepreneurs - and on the educational means for improving their economic productivity and possibilities, not through the sectoral approach of functional literacy, but through exposure to learning experiences, including literacy, which they have helped to identify.[1)]

8.6 Among the findings of the studies which were particularly relevant to educational work for children and adults in the first phase of their organised education, whether through the school or outside it, were those published under the title 'New Patterns to Learning for Rural Children and Youth'. This publication put some substance into the content of Basic Education in the form of a minimum learning package or minimum aggregate of learning experiences considered indispensable in the first phase of life-long education.

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1) M. Ahmed and P. Coombs : Education for Rural Development, New York 1975, p.V.

It indicated what might go into a basic package in terms of desirable attitudes and outlook on the one hand and functional knowledge and skills on the other. It therefore provided the Nairobi and Kericho type of thinking with a basis for further thought. This basis comprised :

(a) positive attitudes towards co-operation within the human environment, a scientific outlook and an elementary understanding of the physical environment and the processes of nature as they pertain, for example, to health and nutrition; and

(b) functional knowledge and skills
  (i) in literacy and numeracy;
  (ii) for raising a family and running a household;
  (iii) for earning a living; and
  (iv) for civic participation.[1)]

(c) Seminar on Basic Education in Eastern Africa

8.7 In the light of such contributions in content as well as target groups for Basic Education, the Unesco/Unicef Programme continued to encourage African countries to clarify their own thinking on what Basic Education should be aiming at achieving. The Seminar on Basic Education in Eastern Africa, in two sessions 19-23 August and 22-26 October 1974, were steps in this direction. At the first session, Basic Education was discribed as :

> 'The minimum provision of knowledge, attitudes, values and experiences which should be made for every individual and which should be common to all.'
> (Author's italics)

All the conventional vocabulary and what is deemed to be desirable were included - potentialities, creativity, critical mind, fulfilment, happiness, useful citizen, producer - in the next sentence.[2)]

1) P. Coombs, R.C. Prosser, M. Ahmed : New Patterns to Learning, International Council for Educational Development, 1973, pp.13-17.

2) Unesco/Unicef Co-operation Programme : Basic Education in Eastern Africa, Nairobi 1974, para.54.

8.8 By using the terms 'provision' and 'be made', the Seminar, at this stage, was merely presenting the familiar but questionable notion of the educator being the initiator in the provision not only of knowledge and experiences but also of attitudes and values - an impossible task if the definition is taken at its face value. At the second session, however, there was some clarification and, indeed, some innovative thinking. Basic Education was seen as 'the first phase of life-long education which could no longer be thought of as contributing a definitive "whole", handed out and received by a student ... whatever the level of his intellectual equipment ... Very important is the development of attitudes and values which enable the individual not only to fit into an existing societal mould but also to adapt readily to changing socio-economic profiles and to make his own contribution to reform and improvement of life.'[1)]

8.9 In this redefinition, the emphasis begins to shift from the educator as initiator to the educand as a learner, the object of education who, in the words of Learning To Be, must be the subject of his own education which can no longer be focussed on anyone or anything else but must proceed from himself as learner in a life-long process of 'personal learning, self-teaching and self-training'.[2)] Participatory education was not new in Africa, but by underlining it, the Seminar took the African countries closer to the concept of Basic Education as being an indispensable stage in the creation of a learning society with all that it implies in :

(a) the development of individual and group self-reliance;

(b) capacity to accept responsibility in shaping one's destiny and to initiate action in experiments in community development, whatever the degree of privation; and, what is more,

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1) Unesco/Unicef Co-operation Programme : Basic Education in Eastern Africa, Nairobi 1974, para.54.

2) E. Faure : Learning To Be, Unesco Paris 1972, p.183.

(c) the willingness to utilise both the Kericho and Nairobi approaches in tandem - 'the school system and out-of-school channels, all of which should lead to further learning opportunities on an equitable basis'.[1)]

8.10 The Seminar also emphasised the need 'to develop co-ordinated and coherent rural development programmes in which the provision of a basic education will be the concern of everyone and the result of co-operative effort". Support from international agencies, e.g. WHO, FAO, Unesco, Unicef, etc., needed to be integrated towards the same goal. In particular, it was suggested that a Unesco/Unicef/ILO co-operation programme might be appropriate in view of the need to include in Basic Education a technology component.[2)] Reflection was being directed towards ensuring a desirable quality of life for all that could come about when education works as a service interlocking with such other basic and indispensable services as health, production of food, nutrition and environmental sanitation, with the wherewithal in skills and appropriate technology to maintain them.

(d) Reinforcement from the Lagos Conference (1976)

8.11 The Conference of Ministers of Education held at Lagos, 27 January to 4 February 1976, summed up in Recommendation 14, as it were, some of the various components of thought that had accrued to a very wide view of Basic Education within the Unesco/Unicef Co-operation Programme, from the Seminar as well as other sources. It underlined the human rights elements as 'the right to a minimum of education which will enable the individual to realise his potential and contribute to the economic, social and cultural development of the nation to which he belongs', it being understood

1) Unesco/Unicef Co-operation Programme : Basic Education in Eastern Africa, Nairobi 1974, para.80(d), 80(f), 80(g).

2) Unesco/Unicef Co-operation Programme : Basic Education in Eastern Africa, Nairobi 1974, paras.80(a), 86.

that 'development should result from the advancement of all and not only of a minority'. It accepted the assumption, among others of the 1960s, that 'adult education in its widest sense' offered a remedy in the current situation of shortage of school places and a high incidence of wastage in the formal system. It pointed out the value of a literate population to national economic development and of the mobilisation of all the people to ensure true development backed by widespread awareness of the cultural and scientific dimensions of such development.

8.12 Moreover, the Conference expressed its conviction that 'Basic Education is the best means' of providing suitable education for the peoples of Africa in their masses and urged Member States 'clearly to define their Basic Education policies', something that was missing from much of the familiar rhetoric. It further urged them to take the necessary organisational, administrative and research measures for their implementation within structures that would allow 'mobility between the school systems and non-formal activities' which should be considered as complementary elements in an overall national effort to ensure each member of the society equal educational opportunities'.

8.13 The Conference did not somehow put deserving emphasis on the notion of Basic Services, which had been gaining prominence in the Unesco/Unicef Co-operation Programme. It was left to the wider international community to do this. On 21 December of the year of the Lagos Conference, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Resolution on the Expansion of Basic Services.[1] This Resolution pulled together the threads of ideas in the movement of thought relating, in particular, to children. It recalled Resolution 2626(XXV) International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, para.18, adopted on 24 October 1970 by which it had noted that

> 'the ultimate purpose of development is to provide increasing opportunities to all people for a better

1) A/RES/31/167 New York, 14 February 1977.

life and that it was essential ... to expand and improve facilities for education, health, nutrition, housing and social welfare and to safeguard the environment'.

8.14 The Resolution further urged :

(a) the international community to recognise its responsibility for increased co-operative action to promote social and economic development through its support of basic services at the international level; and

(b) the developing countries to incorporate the basic services concept and approach in their national development plans and strategies.

9. Some Observations on the Evolution of Ideas on Basic Education

9.1 Nothing as chronologically neat will have actually occurred as has been presented above. What was being thought and said in Conferences from Kericho to Lagos, Studies including 'New Paths to Learning' and 'Learning To Be', and in Seminars and consultations were but part of 'the new rhetoric of the new consensus which was becoming common coinage throughout the world.' It included such phrases as 'meeting the basic needs of the rural poor', 'growth with equity', 'community participation', 'integrated approach', 'improving the status of women', 'protecting the welfare of young children', 'helping the small farmer', 'reducing family size', 'primary health care', 'generating rural employment' and 'mediation of Basic Education'.[1)]

9.2 Although the Unesco/Unicef Co-operation Programme accepted both the Kericho and Nairobi approaches as means to the ends recognised by the new consensus, the preoccupations of the clients of the two sponsoring agencies were basically and primarily with children, youth and the school system. History had predisposed them to develop a concern for improving the old order in school plus other activities for others outside the school. The balance within the Programme therefore tilted in favour of the Nairobi slant, the first published survey of effort having 'mainly covered Basic Education as provided for children (6/7 - 14/15) through the primary school'.[2)]

9.3 Nevertheless, a point to note is that, in addition to African participation in one way or another in the organised institutional ways, for example conferences and seminars, in hammering out ideas on Basic Education, African doubts, questionings and reactions were very much a part of the case for such reviews of policies behind operational programmes of aid agencies

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1) P. Coombs : Meeting the Basic Needs of the Rural Poor, Pergamon 1980, p.12.

2) Unesco/Unicef Co-operation Programme : Survey of Basic Education in Eastern Africa, Nairobi 1980, p.1.

in the 1960s, the main focus of which was Africa. By 1975, for example, Africa had received twenty times per head of population the amount of educational assistance given to Asia and six times that assigned to Latin America.[1] In more specific terms, the Reports of the Director-General of Unesco on the activities of the Organization in 1969 showed that out of a total of 24 UNDP (Special Fund)/Unesco-assisted projects in secondary school teacher training, 19 were located in Africa. There were four on-going projects designed to prepare a new type of teacher in rurally-oriented primary teacher-training institutes, who will be not only a fully qualified teacher but also a community leader. All of them were in Africa.[2]

9.4 Because of the extent of African involvement, there was much feedback of sufficient importance to influence agency policy-making and, what is equally important, the style of their staff in the field. Among issues so discussed[3] were :

(a) the relationship of the Senior International Expert to national staff in UNDP (Special Fund)/Unesco-Assisted Projects, which finally led to the change of his title from Project Manager to Chief Technical Adviser;

(b) the development of assisted colleges for the training of teachers for secondary schools into nuclei of Faculties of Education and, in one or two cases, into Universities;

(c) the status of certificates in those colleges;

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1) H.M. Phillips : Basic Education, London 1975, pp.39-40.

2) Report, paras.110-117.

3) F. Bartels : The Relationship of the Unesco/SF Advanced Teacher Training Colleges with Universities in Africa, 8 March 1965 ; Study of the Unesco/UNDP (Special Fund) Assisted Secondary School Teacher Training Projects in Africa, ED 1874, 28 July 1967.

(d) learning opportunities for under-privileged children and adolescents in rural areas and slums and shanty towns through
   (i) existing, but improved, formal systems of education, and
   (ii) experiments in non-formal systems; and

(e) the little-known need to pay deserving attention to primary education and the training and re-training of teachers for it, particularly in rural areas.

9.5 The last topic had comparatively few advocates at the time of the historic Addis Ababa Conference of 1961. It may be of interest to recall that during the discussion in plenary of the report of Commission III of the Conference, which had examined the Prerequisites in General Education for Specialised Technical and Vocational Training, one African delegation made a plea for agriculture to be given a distinctive place in primary education because Africa is predominantly rural. The merits of the plea are not being discussed. The point to note is that the brief debate that followed ended with a proposal from the platform that the phrase "<u>when</u> industrialisation does come" be substituted for "<u>if</u> industrialisation does come" in the relevant clause of the report, which came to read as follows :

> 'The Commission was well aware that despite the spread of industrialisation, the wealth of Africa will for many years to come be in her manpower and the fertility of her soil, and that when industrialisation does come the workers will have to be fed.' [1)]

Attention was very much on industrialisation as a process to be hastened.

9.6 The plea and the amendment take their place in the slow build-up of a caring critique of theories of high-level manpower

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1) Report of Commission III, para.21.

and industrial and aid needs of Africa. Much of the critique emanated from Africa itself. Not without difficulty, it helped to bring discussion down from elitist educational provision for the few to the needs of the majority including primary health care, food and nutrition, safe water and sanitation, understanding of labour-saving facilities and appropriate technology, knowledge and practice of civic responsibility, development of capabilities requisite for employment as well as literacy and numeracy.

9. / African countries have, therefore, in this and other ways, contributed valuable elements to the international experience from which a refined form of collective thinking is emerging to provide a frame of reference. Some of them draw upon it to construct not only their own national guides to thought and action but also bench marks for assessing the results of action. A number have managed in the process to overcome the difficulty inherent in a movement which, in the nature of things, provides the language of Basic Education for all to interpret in their own way.

PART III

TRENDS IN THOUGHT ON BASIC EDUCATION - NATIONAL

10. Identifiable Indications of Guides to Action

(a) The Wisdom of Self-Reliance

10.1 A trend in thought on Basic Education in African countries features the notion of self-reliance which has now become a major guide to action but was always unspectacularly present in African communal efforts. It was effectively applied by voluntary non-governmental agencies before, and during, the colonial period in their educational work at a time organised financing from Church or government was on a very limited scale. It was given its secular and theoretical expression in several ways in the first decades of the twentieth century. Among them were the writings of two lawyer politicians of Ghana, J. Mensah Sarbah and J.E. Casely Hayford, and the stand later by the Muslim politician of Senegal, Gelondon Diouf.

10.2 Sarbah emphasised the need for 'self-help and self-reliance'.[1] By bracketing self-help with self-reliance, Sarbah called attention to a virtue, which must be cultivated through repeated actions of doing things for oneself, and to a value on the one hand and to attitudes on the other which develop consequent upon repeated actions and a cultivated virtue. The distinction between self-help and self-reliance and the indispensability of each to the other have tended since to be blurred in later pronouncements. Casely Hayford, whose writings anticipated much of President Nyerere's on the subject, challenged English-speaking West Africa to face the fact that, whatever the benefits of continuing dependence on the colonial power, 'there must come a point when we must make up our minds to shoulder our own industrial, educational, political and religious burdens

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1) J.M. Sarbah : Fanti National Constitution, London 1906, p.210.

and be resolute in taking action' to that end.[1)]

10.3 Diouf took notice in the 1930s of the potential within 'the black indigenous masses'. He argued that 'they must be offered a policy adapted to their phase of development' and given a real stake in the development of Senegal. Further, 'the road to prosperity for the French-speaking African territories must be seen as the hard-working and fruitful unity of those who inhabit them', thereby giving 'an early expression of doubt as to the wisdom of dependence on Europe'.[2)]

10.4 In the variety of forms in which it was expressed, however, the concept was part of the politics of protest in a colonial situation in the secular world while it continued to inform action in the traditional and religious. In the latter world, it comfortably combined with enlightened self-interest to secure full acceptance by the majority, and did not have to be preached. In its secular expression, however, self-reliance ambivalently combined with the clamour for more beneficent action by the colonial authorities. For example, Casely Hayford led to the advocacy of self-reliance with the pointed remark 'that unless he be a Christ, there comes a time when the philanthropist must choose between his country and another's, between his own people and another people. And you cannot blame him ... Hitherto, the practice has been for the European to make use of the African to get there. We must change that. The African must in future make it a point to get there himself.'[1)] But his addresses in the

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1) J.E.C. Hayford : Presidential Address, National Congress of British West Africa given at Bathurt, Gambia, December 1925, quoted by M.J. Sampson in West African Leadership, Devon 1949, p.80.

2) J.G. Valliant : Dilemmas for Anti-Western Patriotism in the Journal of African Modern Studies, CUP Vol.12 N°3 1974, pp.387-388.

years of existence of the National Congress of British West Africa joined in the call for more to be done by the colonial power.

10.5 In its later form, after independence, self-reliance implying self-help also, has acquired more credibility. It is in the process of being given an innovative character as the attempt is made to restore to it the traditional general acceptance by the majority and to rid it of ambivalence altogether. It has yet to grow in enlightened self-interest though. It received its most pronounced emphasis in the Arusha Declaration published in 1967, significantly, in between the Kericho and Nairobi Conferences.

10.6 The Declaration called attention to the imperative desirable ends of self-help and self-reliance in a situation that was desperate but barely seen as such. The reason? Starry eyes looked elsewhere for assistance, under the illusion that it would be forthcoming in the desirable quantity and with the necessary speed. Ambivalence persisted, but with a difference; bilateral and multilateral aid donors were being installed in the place of colonial authorities.

10.7 The new language of self-reliance attacked the relics of ambivalence. That alone was innovative. It said : Even if there were a nation, or nations, prepared to give us all the money we need for our development, it would be improper to accept such assistance without asking ourselves how this would affect our independence and our very survival as a nation. Gifts which increase or act as a <u>catalyst</u> to our own efforts (author's italics) are valuable ... It is <u>stupid</u> (author's italics) to rely on money as the major instrument of development when we know only too well that our country is poor. It is <u>equally stupid</u> (author's italics) indeed it is even <u>more stupid</u> (author's italics) to imagine that we shall rid ourselves of our poverty through foreign financial assistance rather than our own financial resources. There is no country which is prepared to give us gifts or loans, or establish

industries to the extent that we would be able to achieve all our development targets.[1)]

10.8 The alternative to dependence on outside resources was land and an abundance of people who are willing to work hard for their own improvement. If use is made of them in a spirit of self-reliance as a basis of development there would be progress slowly but surely.[2)]

10.9 Repeated in educational literature, self-help and self-reliance have become part of development doctrine not only for many an African government but also for bilateral and multilateral development agencies and interests at work in Africa. The concept featured in the preamble to the resolutions of the recent Conference at Makarere University on Teachers and Educational Change, organised in co-operation with the Uganda Teachers Association (UTA), the Uganda Ministry of Education and the All Africa Teachers Organization (AATO) in May 1980. The operative words were :

> 'Overriding concern for educational change in Africa within the framework of self-reliance'.

If this means that the concept has reached or can reach the classroom, then it has qualified for the description of the innovative.

10.10 The concept suffuses the Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Development of Africa adopted at the second extraordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) at their meeting at Lagos, 28-29 April 1980. The Plan, which is referred to hereinafter as the Lagos Plan of Action, is introduced in the following words[3)] :

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1) J.K. Nyerere : The Arusha Declaration, Dar-es-Salaam 1967, pp.8-9.

2) J.K. Nyerere : Education for Self-Reliance, Dar-es-Salaam 1967, p.6.

3) B.A. Clark : UN General Assembly, A/S-11/14, 21 August 1980, Annex I, p.3.

> 'The effect of unfulfilled promises of global development strategies has been more sharply felt in Africa than in the other continents of the world ... Successive strategies have made the continent stagnate and become more susceptible than other regions to the economic and social crises suffered by the industrialised countries. Thus Africa is unable to point to any significant growth rate or satisfactory index of general well-being in the last twenty years. Faced with this situation and determined to undertake measures for the basic restructuring of the economic base of our continent, we resolved to adopt a far-reaching regional approach based primarily on collective self-reliance ....
>
> Thus following a series of in-depth considerations of the economic problems ... we adopted ... in July 1979 the "Monrovia Declaration of Commitment of the Heads of State and Government of the OAU on the guidelines and measures for national and collective self-reliance in economic and social development for the establishment of a new international economic order"'.

If this means that the whole of African political leadership has grasped a future which is already behind it and is seized with the inescapable need to cultivate the virtue of self-help and resuscitate the value of self-reliance in every aspect of national life while accepting outside contributions as 'supplement' to and not the 'mainstay' of development, then self-reliance has amply qualified for the description of the innovative.

10.11 The concept is trickling through to development projects inside the formal educational system where it is, of course, not new. Its innovative character, in the few cases that sources consulted have disclosed, derives from the fact that it is involved in situations where hand-outs had driven away the traditional predisposition to resort to it. After villagers, 'who have been conditioned to look upon officialdom as the source of finance

and supplies', have surmounted the initial difficulty of reconciling themselves to the absence of hand-outs, they have recovered their indigenous virtue of self-help and value of self-reliance in the knowledge that there is no alternative to those two in the fight for survival. Two African projects, one in Ethiopia which is presented later as a model in this respect[1] and the second at Ramdullah in Upper Volta[2] give some evidence of them.

10.12 As the idea of development itself grows in complexity and sophistication, attention is being increasingly given to small-scale projects in the main areas of human development, for example, Basic Education, health, nutrition, through which chain reactions thread their way and in which beneficiaries can more easily have a meaningful part to help themselves and build up their self-reliance. There is also an encouraging ground swell of ideas and energy wherever poor people get a real chance, through locally manageable activities, to help themselves and be self-reliant.

10.13 Nevertheless, three self-evident facts to not seem to have impinged sufficiently on thought which still tends to be more emotive than rational. The first is that self-help does not promote equity. People who help themselves most effectively are invariably those with the will and the means to do so. If the means does not exist, then struggle for survival can generate immense local courage, as has been evident in distress situations, which can be channelled into participatory planning and execution of self-help activities.

10.14 Secondly, for the guiding philosophy of self-reliance to be productive, it must be restored to its pristine prestigious place in the thinking of the majority and not remain part of exhortation from the minority in positions of authority.

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1) G. Mekuria : Basic Education in Ethiopia in Basic Services for Children, Unesco/Unicef Co-operation Programme, Unesco 1978.

2) P. Harrison : Third World Tomorrow, London 1980, pp.72-76.

10.15 Thirdly, the temptation to be driven to this kind of guiding philosophy without conviction is very great. African countries have witnessed the dream of unhindered social and economic progress in the developed countries, from which continuing aid was expected, turned into a nightmare of recession. Their own efforts 'in the twenty years from 1960-1980' do not seem yet to have produced the security hoped for. The verdict is one of 'overall poor performance of African economy'[1], to refer to one important sector. And when people are insecure, they are apt to reach out to what they feel to be secure and unchanging rock of tradition with its implications for identity and self-dependence. People in authority are easily tempted to get hold of some such notion and preach it while their listeners will be largely concerned with the simple question : 'What happens to me?' There is the need in the African countries for the thinking on self-reliance to recognise the force of enlightened self-interest. This will help to move the idea, as has developed in African intellectual history, from expected enforced acceptance towards a position of positive, and indeed inescapable, means of development.

(b) Group Concerns

10.16 A second trend or set of trends in thought currently informs action, though with less clarity than the transnational one of self-reliance, or specifically national imperatives to which we refer later. They come from concerns with which groups of countries are seized as they plan and experiment to grapple with problems which, in reality, are identifiable points in a constellation of inter-related issues. One of these points has already been mentioned - the language of education, and the relationship between the foreign and the mother tongue - which was the basis of selection of the ten countries for study listed in paragraph 4.2 above.

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1) B.A. Clark : UN General Assembly, A/S-11/14, 21 August 1980, Annex I, pp.7-8.

10.17 The ten countries fall into different groupings in relation to other concerns which, because of their influence on both thought and action in national life, must be included in any list of what may be more accurately described as emerging guides to action, in Basic Education in Africa. Among relevant issues are : the heavy hand of an educational system of foreign origin that is resistant to change; sub-regional political demands; economic growth for human contentment and political stability; and the incidence of privation. The issues carry different weights in different groups of countries. Where they are felt most keenly, action in Basic Education has to take account of them because they tend to resist, or promote, or complicate matters for change.

10.18 Benin and Uganda in the list of ten countries share, with Ghana, Senegal and Sierra Leone outside it, a comparatively long history of formal education which makes educational reform by which an innovative Basic Education can be introduced much harder. Several more African countries with much shorter histories have similar experiences. Finding 'no other metrestick to measure standard'[1] - and that standard owes its credibility to inherited examination systems which cannot be so easily disengaged from foreign content and its organization - African countries wrestle with the problem of how to relate learning experiences to need. New departures and innovative programmes are, in the circumstances, difficult to stimulate and to secure acceptance for.

10.19 This is particularly true of Basic Education mediated through the school system in the large numbers of primary schools scattered in all parts of African countries. Within these schools, teachers with little or no training will tend to call on memories of their own schooling and proceed as their own teachers did long ago, who had most probably yielded to the same temptation in their time. When parents, politicians and influential public men and women set out to advance the cause of Basic Education, they think

1) M.Y.G. Burua : The Structure of Uganda's Education System, Paraa Conference Report, Kampala 1975, p.39.

and speak in terms of their own experience.[1] Where formal education has a long history, group memory of what constitutes a desirable standard, with appropriate content and methods, is more stubborn. Genuine misunderstandings of what is meant by Basic Education multiply with the numbers who feel confident to be able to pronounce on it.

10.20 Angola and Zambia, while having to face similar difficulties in different degrees, have their own special problems arising from their geographical location. Seeing them together with Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania and Zimbabwe, brings one closer to a gripping concern that seems to impose the obligation, in the words of C.D. Malapa, Lesotho Foreign Minister attending the meeting of the Southern African Development Group in November 1980, 'to seek to destroy apartheid through a calculated process of attrition' and 'to deprive South Africa of the pride of our economic dependence on them', looking 'forward to the day when South Africa will join us in a unitory, majority-ruled state'.[2] Plans for co-ordinating transport, communications, energy, food production and other forms of development as part of the weaning process, have passed the consultative stage. But there is a long way to go. Ideas have to be converted not only into political, military and foreign policy readiness, but also into human resources capabilities, the balance of advantage being currently on the side of South Africa. Basic Education for underpinning effort in these directions - and not of any old kind - becomes an urgency and affects the framing of its ultimate objectives.

10.21 There are contrasting concerns, too, within the nine countries. For example, Angola, Zambia and Zimbabwe contrast with the other six countries of the sub-region in economic potential.

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1) A. Tosh : Basic Education in Eastern Africa, Unesco/Unicef Co-operation Programme EARO/BC/75/04, November 1975, paras.3-5.

2) The Times, London, 2 December 1980.

The three countries may, in this connection, be grouped with Nigeria and Zaire further north where adequate exploitation of natural resources and effective management of results can alter national capacity dramatically in different spheres of activity, not excepting Basic Education. A case in point is that of Nigeria, where oil revenue placed new resources at the disposal of the Federal Government, part of which was employed to launch a Universal Primary Education Scheme[1], the Nigerian version of Basic Education. The Nigerian experience, 'a national development project aimed at ensuring that all children of school-going age are given the possibility of receiving full primary education'[2], is very much to the fore in a trend in thought on Basic Education which has been described as 'a new trend called Universal Basic Education'[3].

10.22 Sudan, with its vast surface area of 2.5 million km^2 and its 18.6 million people, is the sixth giant country which may be considered in this context. It has the task of exploiting a high agricultural potential and shares with the five the two-fold aim of :

(a) creating an aware and literate people to lay the foundation of future economic growth; and

(b) attempting to close the obvious and disturbing educational gaps between parts of the same country.[4]

Within the group of six countries Basic Education, variously conceived, is expected to help in these tasks.

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1) Report : Workshop on Universal Primary Education, London February 1979, p.19.

2) Federal Ministry of Education : Guidelines for the Submission of the Universal Primary Education Programme by the State Governments, Lagos, 5 March 1974, para.2.

3) R. Akpofure : UPE - Reality or Fantasy, WCOTP Conference on Teachers and Educational Change, May 1980.

4) Report : Workshop on Universal Primary Education, London February 1979, p.22.

10.23 There are expectations, too, which are entertained from without; and these transcend the purely national interests. The hope has been expressed that out of these giant countries, with their mineral and agricultural resources, will emerge a much-needed nucleus of relatively powerful countries capable of :

(a) giving a leadership in Africa both in terms of African-Arab relations and of socio-political matters as a whole;

(b) becoming a factor to be reckoned with in the power politics of the world; and

(c) materially assisting the region's political organization, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), to become an effective focal point for African aspirations.[1)]

10.24 The medium-size country, Kenya, with a surface area of 0.6 million km^2 and population density of 24, and Ivory Coast with a surface area of 0.3 million km^2 and population density of 22, are representative of countries without the potential indicated above, but which seem to have made a bid for developing their resources on the basis of a mixed economy and agricultural productivity, believing that within the development plan drawn up with that aim in view, 'rural development should not be seen as a special programme but as the underlying strategy of the whole Plan'.[2)] Though not without economic problems, they appear to point up one kind of relationship that can exist between a relatively satisfactory economic performance, albeit somewhat unevenly spread, and a measure of political stability. Efforts in Basic Education, in the circumstances, have to be concerned with the development of human resources in ways which contribute

1) A. Mazurui : The OAU in The World Today on the Fifteenth Session of the OAU at Khartoum, BBC London 17 July 1978.

2) Republic of Kenya : Development Plan 1970-1974, Nairobi 1969, p.2.

to awareness of this relationship at the grass roots and to the maintenance, if not the increase, of stability. The concern not to lose the measure of stability gained is very much behind thought and action in Basic Education.

10.25 At the other end of the scale is another grouping comprising Ethiopia, Mali, Somalia, Uganda and Upper Volta which were included, together with 11 other African states, in a list of 25 countries of the world and designated, under the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 2768(XXVI) of 18 November 1971, as least developed. They are known to have special needs which require attention from the international community. In these countries, major problems block educational renovation and development. Among the most common of the problems are 'low per capita income, low literacy rate, subsistence agricultural economy and unsatisfactory health and nutrition standards'.[1)]

10.26 These four countries show yet another facet of deprivation. Together with certain areas in many an African country, they demonstrate a close relationship between accessibility, or remoteness from urban life, and deprivation. Ethiopia, mountains in part with a population density of 24 per km^2; Mali and Upper Volta with respective population densities of 5 and 23 on a Sahalian terrain; and Somalia with 5, over 70 per cent of whom are nomads or semi-nomads[2)]; these give evidence that what is often at stake in remote areas of Africa is education for survival for sections of the population. Conditions are not only those of deprivation but also of unintended neglect because of poor communications, isolation or inaccessibility, and long distances from urban centres and central or local government

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1) Report : Meeting of Senior Officials of the Ministries of Education of the Twenty-five Least Developed Countries, 2-16 September 1975, para.30.

2) O.O. Mohamed : From Written Somalia to A Rural Development Campaign, Mogadisho 1975, p.18.

authority. Poverty, malnutrition, poor state of health and of housing which Basic Education seeks to tackle in co-operation with other services, have so far had much less chance in Africa of being seen to in remote areas than in urban centres and their environs.

10.27 By the same token, these adverse conditions pertaining to remoteness and isolation can ensure a measure of freedom from formalised bureaucratic direction in circumstances where accepted approaches to urban problems may be unsuitable. Such freedom has been known to lead to a degree of flexibility in organization and action which has in turn created the right conditions for local goodwill and self-help to be forthcoming as indispensable desiderata in education for survival.

(c) National Definitions

10.28 A third trend in thought currently guiding action in Basic Education derives from national definitions of what Basic Education should be and what target group it should be directed to. Definitions range from efforts to provide a minimum package of learning experiences to be made available within a defined period of years at school for an increasing number of children on the one hand, to educational activities, outside the immediate responsibility of parents for their children and of schools for their pupils, which go under a variety of names like adult, informal, non-formal and out-of-school education on the other. Zambia and Ethiopia offer examples at these two ends of the spectrum of definitions. Their experiences are drawn upon to pinpoint features of thought on which changes are being rung. A useful summary may be found in The Concept of Basic Education in Survey of Basic Education in Eastern Africa.[1)]

10.29 In Zambia, Basic Education is to be mainly articulated within the formal educational system and mediated as the first -

1) Unesco/Unicef Co-operation Programme, Nairobi 1980, pp.4-15.

nine years in duration - of three successive stages of formal full-time education in school and college. Basic Education is intended 'not only to provide the minimum basic knowledge but also to inculcate the attitudes, values and skills which every one needs in order to realize his potential and to be able to become an effective participant in the advancement of his community ... It must be so designed as to be able to contribute to the progress of the people at large, and to offer them the possibility of gaining access to other educational activities'.[1] While the formal system is to be the principal means of action, it is recognised that there are other important basic educational programmes which are run through community development and social services institutions, ecumenical centres and the National Service Scheme for youth.[2] The Zambia approach is basically the Nairobi and not the Kericho approach.

10.30 At the opposite pole was the Ethiopian experiment which started in 1976. It sought 'a solution to a major national problem viz. the means by which access to educational opportunity could be provided to the millions who had hitherto been deprived of this basic human right', among whom were numbered thousands of displaced nomads. Present therefore in the Ethiopian situation were not only the demands of a human right as recognised by Zambia: in addition, there was a pressing need - that of destitute people - which could not be met through the formal system or even the conventional kind of adult education and functional literacy activities. After much study, it was decided to evolve a programme 'to be tried out in the harsh conditions of the Ogaden region where thousands of destitute nomadic people were being resettled on the banks of the Wabe Shebelli river in newly irrigated areas'[3] and 'were being encouraged to take up settled farming'[4].

1) Republic of Zambia : Educational Reform, October 1977, pp.3, 8, 16.
2) Unesco/Unicef Co-operation Programme : Zambia, Basic Education Profile 1980, p.3.
3) Terminal Report Project ETH/77/026 Paris 1980, para.33.
4) G. Mekuria : Basic Education in Ethiopia in Basic Services for Children, IBE/Unesco 1980, N°37, p.70.

10.31 Like the Zambian approach, the Ethiopian emerging guides to action advocated the provision of learning experiences that would adequately respond to the needs in attitudes, skills and knowledge required by every member of a given group 'without discrimination as to age, sex, religion or ethnic group' as an initial organised stage in, and a prerequisite for, a life-long learning process.[1] Unlike the Zambian, however, the Ethiopian experiment did not so closely equate Basic Education with formal schooling. The experiment saw Basic Education as a viable strategy whereby suitable education could be provided to deprived people through harnessing, to the maximum, local manpower, skills and resources, in the first instance. Further, it recognised the capacity of people in distress to overcome their own problems. It accepted the view that, though illiterate and innumerate, those people would be able to identify their own needs as far as education was concerned, if only they were helped and encouraged.[2]

(d) Choice of the Design for Curriculum Construction

10.32 A corollary to the Zambian approach was naturally the plan to bring what is taught and learnt closer to what should be taught and learnt, in other words, to adapt the curriculum to the socio-cultural environment of the country[3] as more and more children have Basic Education made available to them. 'It is the curriculum content', say the Education Reform Proposals, 'that determines the type of education given'.[4]

10.33 In the nature of things the choice of the design for curriculum reform and constructions for Basic Education via the school system is very largely based on the preferences of educational policy-making, administrative, managerial and teaching personnel ranging from the Ministers of Education to teachers in

1) Terminal Report : Project ETH/77/026 Paris 1980, para.34.

2) Terminal Report : Project ETH/77/026 Paris 1980, para.36.

3) Unesco/Unicef Co-operation Programme : Zambia Basic Education Profile 1980, p.9.

4) Republic of Zambia : Educational Reform October 1977, p.29.

the classroom. Activities are chosen because they can be assumed to produce certain behaviours desired from students after a period of instruction. By the same token the design selected tends to lean away from the other three possibilities of :

(a) ensuring greater participation on the part of students in the curriculum-making process, placing some faith upon the contacts the students make with what is provided in school, home and community in general and by parents in particular;

(b) making the student the central factor and giving him the opportunity to decide what he wants to know and when he wants to learn it; and

(c) combining some of these or all as appropriate.

10.34 The Zambian experiment would seem to be no exception. Its design called for 'proper consultation between specialists and other organizations ... Curriculum construction, review and revising, innovation and research should involve a two-way communication process by being initiated from below (teachers) as well as from above'.[1] The student and his links with parents and the community are conspicious by their absence. And that is a feature of the trend in thought on the content of Basic Education, which makes the school rather than the community and the productive adult within it its point of departure.

10.35 In the latter case, at the opposite pole, as in the Ethiopian experiment, there can be no recognised accepted structure from which to begin, although there is a natural tendency for management to want to see a transfer of tried and familiar experiences in the form of the formal school or adult education centre or both into the vacuum before a real beginning is made. With that transfer would come the familiar activities of functional

1) The Republic of Zambia : Educational Reform, October 1977, p.30.

literacy and the like. The Ethiopian experiment did not altogether escape opposition from such a tendency. 'In many quarters Basic Education', of the kind that was being allowed to emerge with the participation of peasants, 'was seen as an inferior type of education designed to keep rural people in subjection and which would prevent them from having access to the same kind of education as others ... The opposition to change was strong.'[1)]

10.36 But the experiment managed to balance such official concerns with the needs of villagers by choosing a design for curriculum construction based on 'the principle of talking to the villagers, finding out their problems and identifying their needs. This preparatory phase involved many hours of discussions with peasants, much of which required the use of interpreters. It demanded patience in listening to grievances and to complaints of neglect and abandonment. But it resulted in an understanding of what the principal needs were, and helped in the choice of priorities'[2)] in what should comprise the content of the education of the target group. The innovative element in the thinking, which had no parallel in the Zambian experiment, is the central place given to beneficiaries in the evolution of the programme in as many of its aspects as possible.

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1) G. Mekuria : Basic Education in Ethiopia in Basic Services for Children, Unesco/Unicef Co-operation Programme, Unesco 1978, p.69.

2) G. Mekuria : Basic Education in Ethiopia in Basic Services for Children, Unesco/Unicef Co-operation Programme, Unesco 1978, p.70.

11. Beneficiaries' View of their Needs

11.1 The two positions that may be detected with variations in the African region, tend to generate certain attitudes to, and from, beneficiaries as efforts are made to respond to the widely differing sets of needs involved.

11.2 Where the school, as in Zambia, is seen as the principal channel for mediating Basic Education, needs revolve around the lack of opportunity for every individual to acquire the necessary means of self-development and social living. In the Ethiopian experience, the urgent need was to move out of utter destitution and privation into a self-helping community engaged in the reconstruction of community life - practically from nothing!

11.3 It is not known from sources consulted as to how youths benefitting from Basic Education in school view their needs. But if experience elsewhere in Africa is something to go by, they would tend to see them in terms of :

(a) what some central authority can plan and provide for their preparation for life, a possibility which, as clearly mentioned, unwittingly came through the first efforts of the Basic Education Seminar in Eastern Africa to define Basic Education;

(b) parents' aspirations that 'they should obtain a salaried post in order to help the family' even if 'such hopes do not seem more unrealistic than those of the person who plays the football pools'[1]; and

(c) personal conclusions drawn from observable life-styles as to what makes for a satisfying life, which more often than not have little or nothing to do with available means of a livelihood to be able to support a life-style whatever it may be.

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1) Report : Kericho Conference, para.78.

11.4 Needs felt in these terms, in situations of increasing unemployment and underemployment in general and 'incipient unemployment among secondary school graduates in some African countries', often differ fundamentally from what is possible and indeed from 'the needs of the economy for more people to work in rural areas as extension agents, teachers and administrators'[1] as well as agriculturalists capable of effecting improved agricultural performance. When Basic Education is planned to work through the school and to endeavour, to some degree, to reconcile the two kinds of needs - the individual's felt needs and the wider ones of the community in the fulfilment of which more individuals might find their own suitably met - it has to reckon with the existence of a conflict in needs.

11.5 The beneficiaries of the Ethiopian experiment were initially not free from such a conflict between felt and real needs. Like youth in schools, they had been conditioned to look upon officialdom as the source of finance and supplies. It required considerable effort to change their attitudes of helplessness and dependence. There were to be no 'ways .. round self-reliance. It was made clear at the outset that the people were expected to rely on their own material and manpower resources and that outside help would only be provided in cases of extreme need'.[2] Progressively the Ethiopian experiment turned out to be an example of educational thought that evolved in the course of action designed to narrow the gap between felt and real needs, and to reduce the conflict induced by their existence.

11.6 It cannot be said that this thought on how best to deal with the conflict between felt and real needs of deprived people has acquired either the momentum or the popularity of a trend. Some success was observable in the desparate situation in which short-term solutions were vital. It is in direct contrast with the

1) Report : World Development Report, World Bank 1980, p.88.

2) G. Mekuria : Basic Education in Ethiopia in Basic Services for Children, Unesco 1978, p.73.

thinking behind Basic Education through the school that must necessarily rely on the reform of existing organizational and curricular practices to deal with the conflict and change attitudes.

11.7 And that is recognised to be a long drawn-out operation, a fact which appears to be a significant innovative element in the related thinking, in contrast with the easy optimism of the 1960s. The hope exists nevertheless, that at the end of the day, however distant, the school will be able to say :

> 'We have given you the basic skills and the ways of thinking and the ways of understanding your environment which will give you a good grounding if you are fortunate enough to succeed in obtaining further formal study but will also help you to make your way in the world if you leave school.'[1)]

1) H.R.W. Hawes : Universal Primary Education : Lessons from Nigeria in Report of Workshop, London February 1979, p.29.

12. Objectives

12.1 This is exactly the message that is yet to be given with confidence and yet to be known to be received with responsive assurance. It remains an important ultimate objective among others.

(a) Ultimate

12.2 Whatever the phrasing of aims of Basic Education through the school, the ultimate objectives set for its beneficiaries on the completion of its courses would seem to include, in Zambia as in parallel experiments elsewhere in Africa, the achievement, by the individual and ultimately the whole of the human group concerned, of the capacity to be, and the capability to do, certain things, among them :

(a) as already stated above, either to continue learning through further stages in the formal system or find employment and perform creditably 'in socially constructive and productive work'[1);

(b) 'to understand and adapt ... to new problems and changing situations'[2); and

(c) 'to face the problems of building advanced and fraternally united countries ... on the political, economic and cultural levels from the present balkanised and backward African states[3).

The group concerns referred to in paragraphs 10.16-10.27 have a bearing on what is considered a desirable ultimate objective in laying the foundations of the individual's education.

1) Republic of Zambia : Education for Development, Lusaka 1976, p.1.

2) W.O. Briggs : Opening Address, Nigerian National Curriculum Conference 1969, in A Philosophy for National Education, Ibadan 1972, p.XIX.

3) S.J. Cookey quoting A. Moumouni, Education in Africa (1968) and elaborating on it in A Philosophy for National Education, Ibadan 1972, p.XXXI.

12.3 As regards the system itself, Basic Education is to be 'for all children, better conceived, particularly in terms of delimiting the role and responsibility of each stage during the entire period of schooling, in accordance with the laws of the development of the child and also with economic and social imperatives'.[1] In setting this goal it is realised that only a proportion of the population will be touched. Hence the need for 'a well-organized system parallel to that of the permanent educational system for children. Co-ordination and close liaison between two types of teaching, permanent and full-time on the one hand, and accelerated on the other, are evidently necessary in order fully to utilise resources in equipment and personnel.'[2]

12.4 The mode of entry into a discussion of an ultimate objective of the system of education for adults outside the school, as shown in the last paragraph, is indicative of the more common determinant of action on behalf of adults. For them, more often than not, some arrangements parallel to the school system, with their own built-in accelerating mechanism, are deemed to be necessary as a function of constraints on the school system. They are considered necessary not, as it should be the case, because the current African predicament underlines the attention which the Kericho approach deserves and finds support in the warnings of Professor W. Arthur Lewis, from which the following gem is abstracted :

> 'The basic reason why poor countries remain poor is unquestionably because they lack knowledge. Yet it does not follow that the most important use for capital is to invest it in building schools. Education and schools are not the same thing. What goes on inside the schools is not always education, and the result may well be to reduce productive capacity rather than increase it. Conversely much education occurs outside the school; in the family, on the job, through

1) A. Moumouni : Education in Africa, London 1968, p.197.

2) A. Moumouni : Education in Africa, London 1968, pp.201-202.

> apprenticeship, or by means of adult programmes in agriculture, health, and other forms of community development. Expenditure on schools must fit itself into a wide programme for increasing and spreading knowledge, tailored to the particular needs of each society.'[1)]

There can be no case for parellel arrangements whatever the effort that may be made in the name or guise of co-ordination, liaison etc.

12.5 Parallelism was absent from the Ethiopian experiment although, as already stated, pressure was exerted initially to introduce it. The ultimate objectives were finally defined in action as follows :

(a) to provide access to some education to those areas and for those people who had previously been deprived of the right[2)];

(b) to wean rural people from dependence by tapping and releasing the latent energies which are to be found in the community and to harness them for development in the cause of which the whole community accepts the self-reliant approach[3)];

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1) W.A. Lewis : Some Aspects of Economic Development, University of Ghana 1969, pp.19-20. Productive capacity in this context does not imply an advice to emphasize productive skills in primary schools. It means the capacity to perform creditably in whichever field the individual may be engaged, the capacity made possible by the requisite knowledge, stamina and management, for example, to produce 30 hundredweight of maize from an acre instead of the 7 hundredweight being produced by the African farmer. Professor Lewis has in mind the fact that 'the human mind has played the major role in economic progress' and the minds of people in the productive sector of a community are neglected to the community's peril.

2) Terminal Report on Project ETH/77/026, Paris 1980, para.35(a).

3) G. Mekuria : Basic Education in Ethiopia in Basic Services for Children, Unesco 1978, p.74.

(c) to lay the foundation for the creation of a learning community in which every one learns regardless of age and learning is going on all the time and everyone is involved in it[1];

(d) to convert any forthcoming external support as well as the means available for this learning, that is Basic Education itself, into an enabling service, making it possible for the human groups to help themselves more effectively.

(b) Intermediate

12.6 Along with such long-term objectives have emerged others, which are concerned with the accomplishment of specific acts designed to be terminated in a defined period of time and reckoned to contribute to the achievement of the long-term goals.

12.7 In the case of Basic Education through the schools, intermediate objectives are concerned with the inculcation of certain skills, attitudes and appreciation of values and characteristics of the human group in which the school is set. Their definition varies from country to country but they are essentially, as in the Zambian experience, variants of the six essentials underlined in New Paths to Learning, and summarised above in paragraph 8.6. To these may be added a seventh : 'learning related to particular felt needs of the community not covered by the six'[2].

12.8 Intermediate objectives so defined were found to apply to the Ethiopian experiment. Despite the considerable variety of conditions and backgrounds to the groups involved, it could be said that the learning needs set out in New Paths to Learning 'were a

1) G. Mekuria : Basic Education in Ethiopia in Basic Services for Children, Unesco 1978, p.73.

2) M. Botti, M.D. Carelli, M. Saliba : Basic Education in the Sahel Countries, Unesco Institute for Education, Hamburg 1978, p.7.

fair expression of the Basic Education provided'[1]. The seventh essential, that of allowing particular needs to determine what should be learnt, would seem to have been given a high priority, as an objective that was to guide many a specific act in a situation of privation requiring maximum flexibility.[2]

(c) Immediate

12.9 Day-to-day routine courses of action, however, have to be foreseen and fitted into classroom time-tables with teachers in charge, and into programmes for Basic Education outside the school, under the guidance of immediate objectives.

12.10 What these immediate objectives are, in the case of Basic Education through the school in both classroom and out-of-school activities designed to help towards achieving the intermediate goals in skills, attitudes and values, have not come through clearly in the sources consulted. One suspects that, in general, the old constraints continue to glue teachers to the content and methods they have been used to and that the truly innovative objective is the exception.

12.11 For example, the Zambian proposals necessarily stop at generalities and rightly expect that details for reaching immediate objectives would be worked out in a new curriculum, the main characteristics of which would be : richness; flexibility with a view to reflecting both the urban and rural environment, priority to the needs and requirements for rural development which ensures that the teaching of agriculture and other productive activities related to rural development form an integral part of the new content of Basic Education. The proposals commendably see the teacher as number one resource in curriculum change, but they throw out the hint that the teacher has to be won over in his

1) Terminal Report on Project ETH/77/026, Paris 1980, para.42.

2) G. Mekuria : Basic Education in Ethiopia in Basic Services for Children, Unesco 1978, p.72.

attitude to 'the new curriculum'. When he is, it is believed, 'he can make the difference between reform on paper and reform in reality'.[1] That difference is yet to be realised in Basic Education through the school in Africa, although it is present in embryo here and there.

12.12 While there is no evidence of much innovative thinking in terms of accepted immediate objectives that can be said to be realisable within Basic Education mediated through the school, there is a trend in thinking about objectives, in which a somewhat negative but generally widespread dissatisfaction with existing practice is being slowly converted into positive guides to action. This conversion is taking place in educational institutions which prepare educational personnel for primary school classes and the first cycle of the secondary school, the Basic Education rungs of the formal educational ladder.

12.13 Such educational institutions are being increasingly seen as having a role :

(a) to experiment with a view to finding out the kind of organization, courses, teaching materials, methods and techniques that need to be developed in order to pursue the intermediate and long-term objectives on which there is little or no disagreement;

(b) to use the results of experiments to build up an increasingly relevant curriculum or learning experiences and supporting organizational structures (including suitable administrative and management systems) that will bring about such desirable change in cognitive knowledge, skills and attitudes to teachers in training as will help them not only to participate confidently in the formulation of immediate objectives at the level

1) The Republic of Zambia : Educational Reform, October 1977, p.29.

of the day-to-day classroom and out-of-school but also to guide their pupils towards them; and

(c) to regard the improvement of the quality of the total life in the local environment as a concern which educational training institutions should share, in act, particularly in the course of their supervision of practice teaching by their students, as well as in word.

12.14 This development has to be viewed with little more than sober optimism because of the odds against it on the following grounds. In the first place, trained teachers at post in primary schools and the first cycle of secondary classes have little opportunity of keeping abreast of international and regional thinking in conferences, seminars and studies. Such practising teachers were conspicuous by their absence from the 80 participants of the Kericho Conference as well as from the 35 members of the Kenya delegation to the Nairobi Conference of African Ministers of Education. They were not involved in any significant way in the two historic Seminars on Basic Education in Africa, Nairobi 1974 with 49 participants and Bamako 1980 with 44. As arrangements for their retraining and continuing education are very much at the rudimentary stage, it is open to question as to whether their predisposition to new ideas emerging from sources mentioned above can be taken for granted. To what extent can new graduates of training colleges find sympathetic listeners among older teachers in the schools to which they are posted? This is a question to which the material consulted has not provided an adequate answer. It is highly unlikely that teachers' commitment to trying out new ideas can be secured in full without their involvement at the deliberative, consultative and discussion as well as the executing stage when they are indispensable.

12.15 Few African governments would claim to have found a satisfactory means of communication and dialogue with their educational

personnel at the first level of education to ensure that the results of deliberations at international and regional meetings, which they accept, reach the classroom in good time to strike a responsive chord in practising teachers. May it not be that the one indispensable resource person at a seminar on Basic Education is the practising teacher? He would seem to be as indispensable as the regular clientele of international meetings - Permanent and Principal Secretaries, Secretaries-General, Chief Education Officers of Ministries of Education, Directors of Pedagogical Research and Planning and Curriculum Development Centres, University lecturers and Representatives of International Organizations and Agencies. Ultimately it is the practising teacher who can give authentic content to the immediate objectives of Basic Education mediated through the school. The indications are slim that this fact is as widely appreciated as it should be.

12.16 At the opposite pole, the world of 'the absolute poor' and 'indigent unschooled ... there is no need for a curriculum development centre and subject specialists to map out what people need to learn' day by day. 'Their learning needs are quite fundamental'[1] and the immediate objectives to be pursued in the learning process not far to seek. They are concerned with 'the exigencies of living', for example, how to :

(a) solve their health and nutrition problems;

(b) render more productive and less exacting and time-consuming whatever work they have to do to provide themselves with safe water, food and shelter;

(c) maintain an understanding of their community values in the face of any new ones that come in from the wider world around; and

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1) K. King : Minimum Learning Needs for the Third World, Panacea or New Problems, in Prospects, Unesco Vol.VI N°1, 1976, p.40.

(d) regulate their relations with the administrative services of their country in which they live, however remote the centre of authority.[1)]

12.17 The Ethiopian experiment, which is in the world of 'the poor and unschooled', sought to apply the oft-quoted phrase : 'Begin with what the people know and start with what they have'.[2)] Immediate objectives grew out of the experience of engaging villagers resettled in conditions of privation in looking at their problems, determining their needs, setting out their priorities and deciding what they would do and would like to achieve.

12.18 Those emerge in the terminal report on the project as follows :

(a) To establish Basic Education services in deprived, peripheral areas of the country e.g. in resettlement areas in such provinces as Shoa, Gemu Gofa, Illubabor, Wollo, Tigrai, Wollega etc;

(b) To involve people in the planning and implementation of their own social services and to make local organizations, such as Peasants' Associations, effective instruments of development;

(c) To help to develop a decentralized system of education whereby the people will be capable of organizing, administering and supervising their own basic services for education;

(d) To assist in the establishment of suitable local administrative structures and organization for the implementation of such a programme;

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1) cf. M. Botti, M.D. Carelli, M. Saliba : Basic Education in the Sahel Countries, Unesco Institute of Education, Hamburg 1978, pp.52-53.

2) G. Mekuria : Basic Education in Ethiopia in Basic Services for Children, Unesco 1978, p.7[illegible].

(e) To promote the production of suitable materials for educational purposes in local languages and on matters related to local problems and difficulties;

(f) To promote the development of appropriate technology as an essential means of bringing about improvements in the lives of the people;

(g) To develop the use of recorded materials for educational purposes and as a means of overcoming constraints in the way of expanding training programmes;

(h) To assist in the development of training programmes for selected numbers of the local communities as a means of ensuring the rapid transfer of education to deprived people;

(i) To establish information centres at the national and local levels which will assist in the training of personnel and which will ensure that information is widely available; and

(j) To produce joint programmes in association with other development agencies at work in Mass Education, Adult Education and the National Literacy Campaign.[1)]

12.19 The objectives listed above would seem to go beyond the range of immediate objectives and to include both long-term and intermediate ones. The important point, however, is that the report of a Government and Inter-Agency group, which reviewed the over-all development of the programme of activities in Basic Education in the period 1977-1979, suggests that these objectives - perhaps not in the sophisticated terms in which they are expressed but in essence - carried a measure of authenticity for the human groups concerned in a way that immediate objectives in the school

1) Terminal Report on Project ETH/77/026, Paris 1980, para.35.

situation cannot be said with conviction to be doing either for teachers or their wards. The proof is in the groups' own testimony when peasants could say among other things :

(a) 'We already have some skills in the community ...';

(b) 'We have left individual action behind and everything is now done communally';

(c) 'What we need more than anything is education';

(d) 'Under the old regime, there were unfortunate and reactionary attitudes towards artisans who were considered to be outcasts and inferior. These attitudes have now been left behind'.

(e) 'Now, we are washing our eyes'.[1)]

12.20 In the last statement, the eyes provide an appropriate African metaphor of considerable importance. As a verdict of beneficiaries on the programme they were helping to evolve and the common ends they were joined in seeking. The metaphor invests the Basic Education they were engaged in with the quality which President Kaunda gives education in general when he says : 'Education opens new horizons. It makes people <u>see</u> things which they would otherwise not see.'[2)]

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1) Terminal Report on Project ETH/77/026, Paris 1980, p.63.

2) K.D. Kaunda : <u>Humanism in Zambia</u>, Lusaka 1974, p.28.

13. Assumptions

13.1 Experiments in Basic Education, through and outside the school in Africa, would seem to carry a number of assumptions, hidden or overt, in their objectives. These assumptions are basically strands of the implicit assumptions that often underlay the old concept that development could be equated to increase in economic growth and attendant rise in the gross national product index. They may be grouped in two categories, validity and value assumptions.

(a) Some Assumptions behind Basic Education through the School

(i) Validity Assumptions

13.2 By validity assumptions, one has in mind the many 'if only' propositions which have found their way into thought on African education : 'if only this had or had not happened'; 'if only this would or would not happen'. Guy Hunter lists a number of these propositions : 'if only developed countries had not introduced to Africa their own models of education; if only the prestige of white collar jobs had not been so high'.[1)]

13.3 To this list may be added two assumptions which are briefly examined below. The first, which has already been mentioned in paragraph 12.15 above, is that Basic Education in the classroom in a variety of localities can be suitably influenced towards agreed objectives through regional and international gatherings of high-powered educational personnel. The second assumption links reform of education and consequent availability of the right kind of Basic Education with employment. 'Some people,' state the Zambian proposals, 'have come to believe that a child can only get a job if he is very highly educated; while others have stated that there must be something wrong with the type of education being offered to our children', considering 'the disparity between the number of

1) G. Hunter : A Comment on Educational Reform and Employment in Africa in The World Year Book of Education, London 1974, p.278.

school-leavers each year and available opportunities for employment'.[1)]

13.4 To take the first assumption, the validity of which must largely depend on the assurance that the organization and management exist and work for ideas to percolate downwards from the top. Professor Ali Mazurui, the eminent African political scientist, has some very disillusioning words to say in this connection. He states : 'There is Africa's organisational incompetence, which is sometimes quite staggering. It is aggravated by political instability, social corruption and the whole crisis of moral ambivalence arising out of the bubbling of the cultural melting-pot'.[2)] So long as some measure of truth can be found in such words, so long would it be safer to assume that organizational and managerial problems do seriously interfere with the free easy flow of new ideas from central ministries of education to the classrooms of Basic Education in Africa. This puts in question the validity of the assumption behind the composition of many a seminar or meeting or conference on Basic Education mentioned above.

13.5 Equally open to question is the same assumption presented slightly differently and presupposing, as does the recent Basic Education Survey undertaken within the Unesco/Unicef Co-operation Programme, that we can be adequately informed about the failures as well as the successes of experiments in Basic Education from sources limited to 'high-ranking officials (permanent secretaries, directors, heads of departments) in ministries concerned with one aspect or other of Basic Education, as well as heads of institutes of education and research centres.' The survey covered Basic Education as provided for children through the primary school. Members of the survey team state that their sources were in 'a position to offer valid and reliable information ... It was thought preferable to

1) Republic of Zambia : Educational Reform, Lusaka October 1977, p.6.

2) A. Mazurui : Reith Lectures, The Listener, London 13 December 1979, p.806.

obtain information and views from such persons, who have their fingers on the pulse of educational policy and practice, rather than conduct an opinion poll, which tends to reveal a less objective assessment of the situation.'[1)]

13.6 The alternative to a survey limited in this way to exclude field practitioners from direct involvement is not necessarily an opinion poll. But, it must be appreciated that the limitations inherent in the restricted choice are part of the occupational hazards of doing a piece of work within a programme which is essentially intergovernmental. However, not to recognise the limitations to the extent of claiming unqualified validity for the results does not answer the question : 'How much objectivity can reasonably be expected from national governmental authorities in an evaluation process which in the final analysis must become an exercise in self-assessment for public consumption?' Unwittingly shying away from conclusions which additional data from those bearing the brunt of the battle as instructors and beneficiaries; ending up in appraisals which amount to saying that schemes have achieved a lot but much more needs to be done; and refraining from pressing the logic in vital matters relentlessly to the end to be really helpful to African governments: these flow from the major assumption, to adapt from Philip Coombs, that the most efficient and effective way to organise and deliver services is by separate specialities, each having its own independent 'delivery system' running downward from each specialised ministry and its sub-divisions in the capital city.[2)]

13.7 As regards the second of the two assumptions, the Zambian proposals report, 'Even if it is conceded that the education system is not responsible for creating employment for these school-leavers,

1) Survey of Basic Education in Eastern Africa, Unesco/Unicef Programme, Nairobi 1980, pp.1-2.

2) P.H. Coombs : Meeting the Basic Needs of the Rural Poor, Pergamon Press 1980, p.9 (author's italics).

it is frequently said that the education system has created unemployment by giving students an inadequate or irrelevant kind of preparation for life and work. Such views are nearer the mark since education, among other things, must include the preparation of students for entry into the world and life of work. The proposals suggest that "the education system, other sectors of the economy and society have obligations and responsibilities in preparing students to enter the world of work". They should together create conditions whereby relevant productive skills, gained by students during the process of education, could be put to use in appropriate fields immediately on leaving school.'[1)]

13.8 It is no exaggeration to infer from the suggestion that the assumption persists, in many minds, that the school can, and should, continue to play its early colonial role as a sector of the new incoming economy. Then, with some literacy and numeracy and a badge of respectability, its products walked into teaching, preaching and clerking in the two spheres of activity from whence the organization of the new economy was directed - commerce and administration, and related activities. It continues to be assumed that the modern sector can grow to match educational output in spite of the following two considerations. First, the validity of the basic assumption has been challenged by the facts about unemployment which have been stated again and again. Secondly, 'the remedies for unemployment are also now fairly widely agreed - agricultural development, development of small industries, construction, crafts and services of all kinds in the rural areas; minor urbanisation and "growth centres"; lower urban-rural wage differentials; adjustment of exchange rates; less capital-intensive technology, etc.'[2)]

13.9 The assumption that somewhere and somehow the right kind of educational foundation in the form of Basic Education will

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1) Republic of Zambia : Educational Reform, Lusaka 1977, p.6 (author's italics).

2) G. Hunter : A Comment on Educational Reform and Employment in Africa, in The World Year Book of Education, London 1974, p.278.

be laid in school to divert the preferences of young people from the more attractive chances in the small modern sector to the glaringly less attractive alternative in the rest of each country is of doubtful validity. Would reform actually create more jobs? Would Basic Education help in the task? Can it influence its products in the desired way?

13.10 The same basic assumption is sometimes dressed up in a slightly different garb. Educational reform would help inculcate productive skills to be put to use in the world of work after school. The truth is productive skills, except the agricultural, have a limited scope in the current African context for absorption into the economy. Much more will have to be done to widen the scope before any substantial number of school-leavers can be absorbed in economic productive activities of their preference. The following observation on education in Madagascar in the first decade of the century can be multiplied, with varying details, in the African experience :

> 'In Madagascar, where wood is rare and expensive, there are a great many carpenters. The Government ... made a mistake some years ago when it required that carpentry should be taught in many schools. Many of the pupils thus acquired a kind of technical knowledge which they were not afterwards able to make use of. This discredited technical teaching in the eyes of the natives.'[1)]

13.11 Nearer our time, the experimental middle school curriculum of 1952 in Uganda, a concept which in many ways foreshadowed the vocational thesis of President Nyerere's Education for Self-Reliance, and indeed the agriculturally-oriented curriculum of the primary course from Standard I to Standard VIII proved a failure. With rare and isolated exceptions, they neither predisposed youths towards farming as a career nor enabled youths

1) M. Bianquis : Industrial Training in Christian Education, World Missionary Conference Report, London 1910, p.273.

to return to their rural communal life as better farmers.[1] This brings us to the second kind of assumption behind one or two objectives of Basic Education through the school system as exemplified by the Zambian proposals - value assumptions.

(ii) Value Assumptions

13.12 Value assumptions rest on the premise that what is being attempted has or will have value for somebody or some group of individuals. One such assumption is that the teaching of productive skills has value for the pupil of Basic Education and will have it for the economy during his work life. It is briefly considered below.

13.13 The value of more emphasis on the practical, which can be assured through educational reform, is not in question. There is everything to be gained in evolving the learning experiences of Basic Education, in both urban and rural areas, out of meaningful human experiences which must, in the nature of things at that level, be intensely practical. Care has to be exercised, however, not to push the distinction between urban and rural Africa too far, to the extent educational literature will have us go. Urban and rural Africa have an extensive shadow land between them. They overlap and interpenetrate each other. They have different boundaries for different activities, economic, social, cultural and religious. Therefore the practical in either area cannot be exclusively centred on the felt or real needs of the town-dweller or on specifically rural or agricultural content, if it is going to be of value. Moreover, there is no evidence that parents and their children receiving Basic Education in school can be easily persuaded to jettison their aspirations for an educational fare which is seen to be the same for all. In those circumstances, the practical, which is of value, is what is concrete and pragmatic and is a means whereby the full-time tasks of a school can be better performed.

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1) W.A. Dodd : Education for Self-Reliance in Tanzania, A Study of Vocational Aspects, New York 1969, pp.7-17.

13.14 One hard fact is that there is a limit to what can go into a school time-table in terms of classroom and out-of-class activities. There is also a limit to the number of years which the majority of African children can be expected, in the foreseeable future, to spend in school. The time-scale of limited hours in the school-day and limited years in a first phase of life-long education impose a ceiling on what can be packed into them for children who in all probability would not proceed beyond it, even if they complete it all. Presumably, beyond the first six or seven years, time can be found for the inculcation of productive skills. Below them, however, the business of acquiring the rudiments of literacy, numeracy, primary science and related understanding of the extending physical and human environment, primary health care and nutrition requirements, being a citizen and an individual - with the mental skills and character that must go with it - that is a full-time occupation for children at that level of education. 'Anyone sufficiently acquainted with the realities of primary schooling in less developed countries will recognize that the schools have a hard enough task to convey these skills without expecting them to perform as spurious agricultural vocational institutions.'[1)]

13.15 The full-time tasks, properly performed, are more likely to be better able to underpin development of productive capacity in both rural and urban areas. Time taken from them and given to the teaching of productive skills per se can only vitiate performance in essentials without guaranteeing success in what, in reality, must be considered extraneous. The argument needs to be pushed further. The rudiments to be acquired are, in terms of the Zambian proposals, meant to begin a process whereby the individual will 'develop his potential to the full for his own well-being as well as that of society and for selfless service to his fellow men.

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1) P. Foster and J.R. Sheffield : The World Year Book of Education 1974, London 1974, p.4.

Such education should thus be true to the integrity of individuals as well as to the needs of our society and our common humanity.'[1] This process is not limited to any specific activities.[2]

13.16 But the activities selected - to draw upon a second definition - should 'extend the individual's ability to learn, relate, choose, create, communicate, challenge, and respond to challenge so that he may live with purpose in the community of today and tomorrow and achieve satisfaction in the process.'[3]

13.17 With these huge tasks waiting to be done, from the level of Basic Education upwards, a good primary system, with all that this involves in teacher training (and rewards), universal, if possible, at least widely spread, and carrying visible signs of effort to achieve equity within it, is probably the most vital target for the general health and energy of a nation.[4] This, to all intents and purposes, is what the majority of African countries can confidently aim at in the foreseeable future as the indispensable portion of a Basic Education programme, albeit of a longer duration to be completed in two or three additional years. The Zambia proposals, for example, foresee the country's ultimate goal to be 'universal Basic Education' comprising 'the seven years of primary plus two years of the junior secondary, in terms of enriched curriculum', which 'would be sufficient to prepare the child to proceed to the next stage, or to leave school.'[5]

1) The Republic of Zambia : Educational Reform, Lusaka October 1977, p.5.
2) Draft Recommendation Concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education Relation to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, Unesco 18C/24 12 July 1974, Annex I para.I(a).
3) Educational Development Conference : Educational Aims and Objectives, Wellington 1974, p.11.
4) cf. G. Hunter : Educational Reform and Employment, in The World Year Book of Education 1974, London 1974, p.281.
5) Republic of Zambia : Educational Reform, Lusaka October 1977, paras.4-6.

13.18 In the two or three additional years of the junior or first cycle of the secondary school for some countries and completing the Basic Education ladder or the first phase of education for others, a more intensive exposure to educationally-supportive practical learning experiences can, and no doubt will, be attempted. But it must be remembered that such a provision, at the cost involved, will be made for some 30 per cent of the total number of children eligible to enter Class I of the primary school some six or seven years previously. On the basis of recent data made available by Unesco[1], about 50 per cent of the eligible children, N, would have secured places; about 60 per cent of this fortunate group would have survived Class VI. About 40 per cent, that is, 20 per cent of N, would have joined those who never entered school to swell the ranks of the illiterate and innumerate and to aggravate the problem of what to do for the unschooled (including the rural poor).

(b) Assumptions behind Basic Education outside the school

13.19 Which brings us to several validity and value assumptions behind educational provision outside the school system to which African countries tend to cling, although startling revelations - 'including the jolting discovery that 600 to 800 million people, about 40 per cent of the total population of the developing world, were living in "absolute poverty", have called these into question.' Philip Coombs has listed five of them applicable to the Third World.[2] One of them, related to delivery systems, has already been mentioned in paragraph 13.6 above. The other four are modified to reflect the African situation. They are re-stated below :

(i) Concentrating development efforts on 'modernization' and industrialisation while encouraging voluntary activities in other sectors would, in the course of

1) B. Fredriksen : Progress towards Regional Targets for Universal Primary Education : A Statistical Review, Paris October 1980, p.10.

2) P.H. Coombs : Meeting the Basic Needs of the Rural Poor, Pergamon Press 1980, p.9.

events, produce a self-sustaining process of rural development;

(ii) Agricultural development which generates foreign exchange through export crops would facilitate rural investments;

(iii) Economic development and social development were distinct and separate processes and that sizeable progress on the former must precede any significant progress on the latter;

(iv) Villages and villagers of a nation were all more or less alike, hence solutions can be reasonably uniform for all.

13.20 Africa shares a new consensus which has emerged in the course of a critical re-examination of these earlier assumptions, particularly the first three on the list above, and has led to the demand for a more 'integrated' and more 'community-based' approach to rural development. The Lagos Plan of Action, already mentioned as giving an important place to self-reliance in African thinking on action, contains evidence of this. Heading its priorities are food and agriculture, under which are recommended : quantitative and qualitative improvement in food-crop production to feed the people; amelioration of the living conditions on the farms; increase in farmers' real income; adequate and realistic agrarian reform programmes consistent with political and social conditions; physical infrastructural development, including the building of small bridges, dams, access and feeder roads and the improvement of education, health and other social services (pp.11-20). Industry is presented second. What is more, it is seen first in terms of 'the satisfaction of basic needs of the population; the exploitation of local national resources; the creation of jobs; the establishment of a base for developing other economic sectors; and then, and only then, in terms of the creation of the basis for assimilating and promoting technological progress, and the modernization of society' (p.22).

13.21 Two assumptions, one ignoring Africa's internal heterogeneity within each nation and the second related to separate delivery systems that are so closely tied to the historical evolution of the civil service, with its vested departmental interests and authoritarian stances within it, will not be given up too readily, whatever the Heads of State and Government decide at their summit meetings. Here and there, however, as in the case of the Ethiopian experiment, inroads into the citadels of administrative power are being made in this regard.

13.22 One assumption which should be made more widely but which is rarely made is this - the health of the body politic is as much dependent on the health of each identifiable human group within it as the human body derives its health and energy from each of its several parts : just as much as a twisted ankle or a toothache or a cancerous liver can materially reduce the capacity of the human body to undertake concentrated constructive action, so does a human group within the nation take away from its health and energy if that group is illiterate and innumerate, undernourished and malnourished, too poor or too ignorant to understand and provide the basic needs of primary health care and other things for themselves and their children. This assumption, which may not be easily faulted, is often replaced by one which is questionable. Poor people are sometimes regarded as being 'content with their conditions, if not actually well-off by comparison with town-dwellers and farmers. This may be so : but there is evidence that they feel discriminated against by the central administration and their resistance to change may be largely due to fear of further exploitation'.[1)]

13.23 Sub-Saharan Africa (excluding South Africa) has a fair number of such groups. The conclusion reached in a study of the distribution of income and wealth in Kenya would seem to be applicable to practically every country. 'Very real poverty exists everywhere

1) H.W. Singer and S.D. Reynolds : Aspects of the Distribution of Income and Wealth in Kenya in The Use of Socio-Economic Indicators in Development Policy, Unesco 1976, 1979, p.172.

but some areas of the country suffer more than others'.[1] The arithmetic of the African region shows that 'given the trend in average incomes (particularly in agriculture), the proportion of the population living in absolute poverty has probably increased in many countries since the early 1960s. In 1975 an estimated half of the people in the region were absolutely poor. Most are subsistence and small-scale farmers, but in some countries (such as Somalia) a sizeable proportion are nomads'.[2] These are unlikely to be able to raise their purchasing power, upon the general level of which (among other things) a nation's economic strength depends, let alone raise children with the capacity of learning who, after surmounting normal mild childhood diseases without being left retarded or lacking in curiosity because of the disadvantage of poverty and malnutrition, can grow up into energetic and productive adults.[3]

13.24 If the assumption is accepted that a poor deprived community is to the body politic what a diseased part of the body is to the person, then attention to such a community by way of basic services is an urgency and not a desirable set of parallel arrangements to the school system. Moreover, the services will not be in the form of an illness service with prescribed drugs but of a health service - 'with all that it involves in helping the body to help itself, in prevention through understanding of nutrition, health and hygiene, etc' - in keeping with the recognition by modern medicine that 'a large measure of illness which is not related to genetic disability is the product of our behaviour and our environment'.[4]

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1) H.W. Singer and S.D. Reynolds : Aspects of the Distribution of Income and Wealth in Kenya, Unesco 1976, 1979, p.195.

2) The World Bank : World Development Report 1980, Washington 1980, p.86.

3) cf. A Strategy for Basic Services, New York 1976, p.14.

4) I. Kennedy : Unmasking Medicine, Reith Lectures 1980, The Listener 20 November 1980, p.677.

13.25 The Lagos Plan of Action includes basic services in improvement of education, health and other social services in the areas requiring action together with physical infrastructural development. It states, however, that much of this at this stage (author's italics) should, as far as possible, be undertaken through voluntary self-help participation. The qualifying phrase, 'at this stage', suggests that thinking is influenced by shortage of the necessary drugs (finance) and doctors (supervisory personnel with tried prescriptions) rather than by the conviction that the right approach to Basic Education is in 'helping communities to participate, determine their own priorities and develop progressively'.[1)]

13.26 The Lagos Plan of Action must be regarded as being representative of thinking at the highest levels in Africa although it is rightly being further studied and cannot be considered to have said the last word. However, there is little evidence in it to suggest that the case of the rural poor is thought to be as urgent in Basic Education for the body politic as the analogy with an ailing part of the human body would indicate. For example, human resources development is one of ten concerns to which the Lagos summit committed itself. But in that single commitment, the elimination of illiteracy, seems to be the first and, indeed, the principal pre-occupation as indicated in the following clause in the preamble to the Plan :

> '(iv) More specifically, we commit ourselves, individually and collectively on behalf of our governments and peoples, to :
>
> (a) give an important place to the field of human resources development by starting to eliminate illiteracy,'

which means little to the poor, hungry and deprived.

13.27 Moreover, the chapter on Human Resources Development and Utilization, in its 25 paragraphs dealing with plans and programmes

1) G. Mekuria : Basic Education in Ethiopia, Unesco/Unicef Co-operation Programme, Unesco 1978, pp.68-79.

at the national level, includes two paragraphs, under the provisions of which one might, by a stretch of the imagination, see some attention being given to Africa's running sore of rural poor in the body politic :

(a) '93. A primary objective of socio-economic development is the improvement of life for the entire population of a nation. The attainment of this objective requires full participation of all segments of the population in gainful and productive employment and provision of all essential services for enrichment of the life of the community. It also requires effective programmes of social welfare, community development, social security, and mobilization of the masses for development of public works and community services;' and

(b) '106. Developing programmes for training rural inhabitants and those in informal sectors in various occupations and adapting such training to improve indigenous skills and technologies. This measure should provide for fundamental and comprehensive review and overhaul of prevailing methods and techniques of training and adult learning for the acquisition of skills, transfer of technologies and know-how. The role of non-formal training methods and media in the training of the masses should be given adequate recognition and support.'

13.28 There is every indication that the journey will be long from the rhetoric of Lagos to the realities of programmes for people who are eking out an existence in the parched Sahel and agricultural savanna of Western Africa respectively by animal husbandry and subsistence agriculture, in arid stretches of Eastern Africa by nomadic pastoralism or in job-shortage areas of Southern Africa by migrant labour, not to mention (a) the mass tragedy of displaced persons, three million of them constituting half the world's refugees,

who have crossed their borders to escape from strife of one kind or another, and who must be acknowledged to be a questioning comment on the exhortation of the Lagos Plan of Action that

> 'as a consequence of the need for increased self-reliance, Africa must mobilize her entire human and material resources for her development'[1], and

(b) - which seldom hits the headlines - the inequalities in many a rural area or the same geographical unit, of which many shanty towns or bidonvilles on the edges of large African cities provide examples.[2]

13.29 But waiting in the poor communities involved is the moral energy, imagination and the determination of thousands of villagers, nomads and refugees in camps, which can help find solutions. The validity and value of this major assumption would seem to have been largely proved by the Ethiopian experience. But it must be re-stated that, at the preparatory stage, the kind of negative if impracticable assumptions were present which have so often led to the Basic Education outside the school system becoming, at best, modified forms of current adult educational functions largely in the hands of voluntary agencies and considered as complementary to the real work of education in school and college and, at worst, compensatory programmes which seek to make good deficiencies on a shoe-string.

13.30 It is significant that, with the conventional assumptions discarded in the course of its evolution, the Ethiopian experiment was singled out for mention at a follow-up to the Nairobi Basic Education Seminar of 1974 in an Inter-Secretariat consultation

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2) Matero, a well-established suburb of Lusaka in Zambia and Kapzepze hard up against it with its low quality houses, virtually little or no services, are a case in point. C. Elliott : Four Indicators of Distribution in Zambia in The Use of Socio-Economic Indicators in Development Planning, Unesco 1976, 1979, p.214.

1) B.A.Clark: UN General Assembly A/S-11/4 21 Aug 1980 Annex I para 14(iv); Author's Italics

between Unesco and Unicef in July 1976. The reference underlines the approach of helping people to help themselves. If properly applied - and ifs tend to accumulate in such cases - the approach can be employed to stimulate the lethargic vast majority of African peoples into active participation in national development on the assumption that the poorest and weakest communities can, through appropriate learning-teaching situations, created for teachers and leaders as well as for learners, assume a large measure of responsibility for their own destiny. The report of the Inter-Secretariat meeting said of the Ethiopian experiment :

> 'The programme which began in the drought-stricken region of Ethiopia, with Unicef's emergency and re-habilitation assistance, has wider acceptance as it corresponds more closely to the new policy of Ethiopia. The feature of the programme is that primary schools, as constructed by the local Peasant Associations which select, appoint, pay and lodge the teachers, participate in the definition of educational programmes.'[1)]

13.31 The peasants were equally involved in shaping their future in the 'settlements' where it was understood from the outset that everyone had an equal right to have access to education. This understanding made it possible for fathers to sit 'happily in classes with their children; and girls and women were able to join in as well. When everyone was learning at the same time, the motivation to learn was high and the general atmosphere was therefore conducive to learning. In some villages, exercise books and pencils became part of the personal equipment of almost every member of the community. This made the arbitrary divisions of pupils into first, second and third grades quite irrelevant. In such a situation, where learning is going on all the time and everyone is involved in it, the rate of learning appeared to be much faster than in an

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1) Unesco/Unicef Co-operation Programme, An Overview, 1977, Unesco/Intersec 2 III para.22.

ordinary school ... It was proved that many of the assumptions about the way in which education should be given can be challenged.'[1)]

13.32 This positive achievement had its roots in the single assumption that the poor and deprived, who in the nature of things normally take away from the strength of a country, can be helped to help themselves to develop into a self-reliant learning society.

13.33 With this single major assumption, we complete a sketch of the background to action in Basic Education in Africa. To recapitulate, this background comprises what is being thought within the international community, in the region, and in individual countries, the guides to action which have emerged or are emerging, the goals to which action is directed and the assumptions which, much too often, determine the nature of the action. It has, in the preceding paragraphs, been executed in rather bold brush-strokes, which may understandably conceal some significant details. With this limitation in mind, we now turn to action in Basic Education, which are discernible as a scenario of efforts rather than as trends in innovative performance.

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1) G. Mekuria : Basic Education in Ethiopia, Unesco/Unicef Co-operation Programme, Unesco 1978, p.73.

PART IV

ACTION IN BASIC EDUCATION

14. Scenario of Efforts : Four Main Types

14.1 We have already referred to Basic Education in two polarized positions, the efforts in school and those outside it in a deprived community. The emerging pattern within the entire spectrum broadly features two kinds of activities closer to the end where the school stands, and two other kinds nearer the other end.

(a) Effort through the School itself

14.2 At the school end, as already indicated, is to be found action in a first phase of education which carries a variety of labels suggestive of the change it is meant to constitute. More often than not this action is in terms of one of the three prongs of an educational strategy only, organization in its simplest form of structure. The other two prongs, curriculum and preparation of personnel, come to be given the necessary attention; but the need at the time of the decision with respect to Basic Education is believed to be a new primary school, organised to be seen to be a part of the community and not estranged from it. In time, suitable preparation of teachers, what to put into the new school (which is not just something to do with the hands), what teaching materials should be produced and how, are taken up in a process of devising an educational strategy with all three prongs. Various African countries are at different points in this process.

14.3 The overriding need may be discerned from some of the labels which have been given to action, such as :

a. The New School or The School as a Production Unit, in Benin;[1)]

1) Final Report : NEIDA Regional Seminar (1978), Dakar January 1979, p.41; Ministère de l'Education nationale - Programme national d'édification de l'Ecole nouvelle 1977.

b. Dingana 1 and 2 in Madagascar;[1)]

c. L'Enseignement Fondamental in Mali;[2)]

d. Integrated Rural Education Centre in Sudan;[3)]

e. The Community School in Tanzania;[4)] and

f. Basic Education or l'Education de Base, the most common terminology in use in the ten countries selected for study.

(b) Effort through Teacher-Training

14.4 The second kind of activities at the school end does not begin with organization in its limited form of structure. It focusses initial effort on the preparation of educational personnel who will, hopefully, in time bring about a desirable change in the first phase of education in terms of all the three prongs of an educational strategy. As well as being an indispensable factor in any contemplated transformation, the training and retraining of the teacher to make him an effective change agent, ensured a considerable multiplier effect in coverage and speed. Further, training the teacher-educator responsible for the preparation of the teacher has become an equally indispensable factor. It completes the building of the requisite institutional locomotive for a network of primary schools which are themselves community centres for adults as well as the young in a bid 'to introduce new curriculum to primary schools in rural areas and to train teachers not only to apply new curricula and teaching methods but also to become community leaders for community education in general'.[5)]

1) Basic Services for Children, Unesco/Unicef Co-operation Programme, Paris 1978, p.57.

2) Ministère de l'Education nationale, Draft Report : Le Système Educatif Malien, 6 September 1980, p.84.

3) Report of Tripartite Review Mission on the Pilot Project at Maridi, March 1980.

4) Report of Seminar on Community Schools, 22-29 August 1980, p.27, The Concept.

5) UNDP Country Programme for Sierra Leone for the period 1973-1976, para.110 referring to the request which led to the establishment of the Bunumbu Project.

14.5 However different the phrasing, the overall aim - to quote from the words applied to the Namutamba Project, An Innovative Uganda Experimental Project on Education for Rural Development - is 'to improve living conditions in a selected rural area and to assist the children, youth and adults to prepare for effective and rapid integration into the social and economic development'.[1)]

14.6 African countries had gone some way in translating some of these ideas into institutions by the time multilateral assistance became available for the purpose in the 1970s. For example, Komenda College (1948) and Osei Tutu Training College (1956) had been established in Ghana for the purpose of relating teacher-training courses to the rural surroundings, one on the coast, one in the hinterland.[2)] Multilateral input by the year of the Lagos Conference included assistance to the following efforts, the descriptive titles of which are significant :

a. Instituts Normaux d'Education pour les professeurs de l'enseignement de base in Angola;

b. Training of Primary Teacher Educators and Further Training of Primary School Teachers in Cape Verde Islands;

c. Training of Primary Teacher Educators in Ethiopia;

d. Rural Primary Teacher Training Institute, Kakata in Liberia;

e. Primary Teacher Training in Niger;

f. Primary School Teachers for Rural Areas (the Bunumbu Project) in Sierra Leone;

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1) E.H. Rukare, G.A. Bennaars, S.W. Muwonge : The Namutamba Project, Kampala 1974, p.14.

2) L.A. Greedy : Komenda College in The Training of Rural School Teachers, Unesco Paris 1953; F. Bartels : The Roots of Ghana Methodism, CUP 1965, p.248.

g. National Institute for the Training of Primary School Staff in Zaire.[1)]

(c) Some Measures for the Education of Unschooled Adults

14.7 Outside the school system, one kind of effort is aimed at equipping adults with new knowledge and skills in order to achieve increased productivity in their work as well as to participate more fully in the life of the community. Grafted in the main to local schemes of agricultural extension work, projects seek to guide the farmer to improve upon his traditional methods of cultivation and to be able not only to read and write about it but also to acquire a deeper understanding of the demands of his occupation and environment and to be better able to respond to it effectively.[2)]

14.8 While effort is being made to approach work in these directions in an integrated way, which would be innovative if it were to be achieved in practice as well as in theoretical discussions, the ideas have tended to be held together in the mind only while action proceeds through separate specialities. As a rule, the direction of such action is determined for, and not by or with, the beneficiaries. The very term 'extension service' smacks of both the historical paternalism towards African farmers and a sense of slow struggle to reach out to them in any significant numbers. It is possible to glean from the Lagos Plan of Action that the 'extension service' in Africa needs to 'be strengthened and given additional resources to reach the bulk of the rural population rather than concentrating on a relatively small group of progressive farmers.[3)]

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1) Unesco Approved Programme and Budget for 1977-1978, Paris February 1977, para.1287.

2) Working Document for the Lagos Conference, ED-76/MINEDAF/Ref.5, Paris 12 December 1975, para.76.

3) B.A. Clark : UN General Assembly A/S-11/14 21 August 1980, paras.38, 3.

14.9 The elimination of illiteracy, or functional literacy, with the support of a communications system, is the concern which strikes a deep chord as may be discerned from the following words of the Lagos Plan of Action :

> 'We commit ourselves to give an important place to the field of human resources development by starting to eliminate illiteracy'.[1)]

14.10 It is claimed that, in spite of difficulties encountered and mistakes made, the innovative aspects of projects to use functional literacy in the education of unschooled adults have produced a number of results, including changes in participants' attitudes.[2)] A comparative view of the kinds of directions in which effort in Basic Education for unschooled adults in rural communities have taken place may be formed from available information[3)] which is given overleaf.

(d) Effort directed to the Rural Poor

14.11 The Somali campaign in the list given overleaf provides a link between the measures taken for the unschooled adults who need Basic Education to improve living conditions and the second category who need it for survival, the rural poor and destitute, of whom, as indicated already, the resettled displaced Ethiopians are an example. Work among such people is usually relegated to voluntary organizations. Leadership rests with expatriates; and its relationship with beneficiaries is seldom other than the familiar donor/recipient one which, however much it tries to encourage indigenous African self-reliance, tends to perpetuate a sense of dependence.

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1) B.A. Clark : UN General Assembly A/S-11/14, 21 August 1980, para.3.

2) Working Document for the Lagos Conference, ED-76/MINEDAF/Ref.5, Paris 12 December 1975, para.77.

3) Working Document for the Lagos Conference, ED-76/MINEDAF/Ref.5, Paris 12 December 1975; O.O. Mohamed : From Written Somali to Rural Development Campaign, Mogadishu 1975.

Country	Duration of Planned Programme	Population Planned to be reached	Population Reached	Areas of Concentration
Ethiopia	1968-1973	100,000	38,000	Coffee, textiles, linguistic integration
Guinea	1968-1973	78,000	1,440	Pineapple, rice, bee-keeping, animal husbandry, forest crops, carpentry, textiles, cigarettes, matches, food industry, political integration
Madagascar	1968-1971	51,000	4,299	Rice, coffee, cotton, animal husbandry, animation rurale
Mali	1967-1972	100,000	83,000	Cotton, rice, groundnuts, civic responsibility
Somalia	1973	1,257,779	773,628	Literacy, Primary Health Care, Livestock Care including vaccination, transition from nomadism to sedentary occupation
Sudan	1969-1973	16,000	7,385	Cotton, wheat, groundnuts, oil, leather, textiles, handcrafts, transition from nomadism to sedentary occupation
Tanzania	1967-1973	200,000	466,000	Cotton, rice, bananas, fishing, animal husbandry, involvement in nation-building

14.12 Three initiatives, which appear to be an exception, are :

a) the Basic Education effort outside the school system in Ethiopia already referred to above;

b) non-school features of the Rural Development Campaign in Somalia, 1973 and follow-up; and

c) the Rural Development Fund Project at Ramdullah in Upper Volta.

15. The Four Main Types of Basic Education in the African Experience

15.1 It is proposed to consider a number of examples of the four main types of Basic Education in the African experience, beginning with Basic Education through the school as part of the battle against rural exodus and the estrangement of the school from the community.

(a) The Young in School

15.2 The experience goes much further back than the examples from Madagascar (1962) and Upper Volta (1961) given by H.M. Phillips[1] and from Tanzania (1961) supplied by H. Houghton and P. Tregar[2]. There was a Farm Model School at Beulah in Ghana whose founder in the 1840s believed that the school should be associated with large-scale agriculture, not only because it must give a lead in education but because of the inescapable need of the country.[3] Its daily time-table was theoretical classes in the morning and practical and productive agriculture in the afternoon. Muhlenberg Mission Boys' School was established in 1860 in Liberia as an experiment in agricultural and industrial education. It survived into the 1920s.[4] Thirty years afterwards, in 1896, J.E. Ricketts, founder of an industrial school at Agboa in Ijebu Remo in Nigeria was letting Lagos citizens know that the new school would enable the people 'to receive an elementary education and at the same time be trained to become better farmers, carpenters, and in the useful arts'[5].

(b) The Teacher in Training

15.3 Mediation of Basic Education in school through teacher training is an even older practice in the African experience. The rural primary teacher training college that is expected to act as

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1) H.M. Phillips : Basic Education, London 1975, pp.210-212.
2) H. Houghton and P. Tregar : Community Schools in Developing Countries, Hamburg 1969, pp.58 ff.
3) F.L. Bartels : The Roots of Ghana Methodism, CUP 1965, p.66.
4) T.J. Jones : Education in Africa, Phelps-Stokes 1922, p.310.
5) The Lagos Standard, 20 February 1895, quoted by N. Okafor in The Development of Universities in Nigeria, Longmans 1971, p.52.

a locomotive force for change in a network of primary schools which are themselves community centres for adults as well as the young, is an old concept. The teacher it trains is expected 'not only to apply new curricula and teaching methods but also to become a community leader for community education in general'[1] with the overall aim of helping 'to improve living conditions in a selected rural area and to assist the children, youth and adults to prepare for effective and rapid integration into the social cultural and economic development'[2].

15.4 The experiment can be seen resorted to at different times, in the African experience. It can be traced back in history from the Tanzanian (then Tanganyikan) effort in the 1950s, the crop of teacher training institutions (including the beginnings of Bakht-er-Ruda in the Sudan in 1934) that either sprang up or attempted to give a decidedly rural bias to their training consequent upon the recommendations of the Phelps-Stokes Education Commissions of the 1920s to the Currie Institute founded in Angola in about 1882 to give instruction of 'upper elementary and lower secondary grade to teachers and religious workers'. The important point is not that the experiment is new or innovative, which it is not, but that its precursors suffered discontinuities or changed course.

15.5 One of the working documents for the Lagos Conference of African Ministers of Education in 1976 put the matter succinctly as follows. In the ferment of thought that is building up, there appears to be a convergence of minds on the need to train the teacher for a new primary school with the character of a community school ... where experiments in formal and non-formal systems of education can be brought and held together in order to integrate

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1) UNDP Programme for Sierra Leone for the period 1973-1976, para.110, the request that led to the establishment of the Bunumbu Project.

2) E.H. Rukare, G.A. Benaars, S.W. Muwongi : An Innovative Uganda, Experimental Project on Education for Rural Development.

school and society as a long-term objective and to create opportunities to learn to be self-employed as well as increase productivity. The teacher, parents and children are to build up a new kind of school ... as a change agent in the community. These ideas are not new, but over the years they have been less practised in English-speaking Africa and not at all in Francophone Africa until very recently.[1)]

15.6 Nor were the past experiments all rudimentary undertakings. The Tanzanian experiment of the 1950s set out to provide suitable curricula 'with a strong practical bias towards agricultural and practical activities' for both the pupils who would go to further education and 'for the thousands who would go no further' and needed 'a preparation for life as citizens in a rural community'. It was accompanied by strenuous effort to ensure that 'teachers were specially trained'. Each school was to have one teacher who, in addition to his general professional training, had also received special instruction in the teaching of practical agriculture and the related sciences.[2)]

15.7 Bakht-er-ruda has an impressive history though not in relation to the purpose for which it was 'originally created : to train elementary school masters for rural areas'[3)] with all that it implied in the rural school being considered a possible instrument of economic progress. There is no need to expatiate on the subject of its beginnings, which is widely known.

15.8 The Currie Institute maintained its original aim much longer, growing into the unique institution which the Phelps-Stokes Commissions described it to be in March 1920. The table overleaf

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1) Working Document ED-76/MINEDAF/Ref. 5, Paris 12 December 1975, paras. 87, 94 (author's italics).

2) W.A. Dodd : Education for Self-Reliance in Tanzania, Teachers College Press, New York 1969, pp. 5, 6, 9.

3) H. Kitchen : The Educated African, New York, p.74.

PARTICULARS	NAMUTAMBA 1973-1974	CURRIE INSTITUTE 1920
Enrolment	173	61
Feeder Schools	1 Demonstration School 14 Associated Primary Schools	5 Central Schools 125 Outstation Schools
External Financial Support	Multilateral Contribution Expert Services and Operating Costs $39,525	Canadian contributions for plant and equipment equalling $75,000
Length of Course	4 years (after 7 years Primary)	5 years (after 6 years Primary)
Curriculum Subjects	Animal husbandry Art and Craft Building Crop husbandry Education with Practice teaching English Geography History Luganda Mathematics Music Physical Education Religious Education Science Woodwork	Training on land with cattle, dairying Drawing, blacksmithery Brick and tile-making; masonry, carpentry, road-making Agriculture, forestry Pedagogy with Practice teaching Portuguese History of Portugal Native language Arithmetic Singing Religious training Physiology, hygiene Carpentry
Sources of Learning, with fourth year students ranking (1-11) in brackets in the case of Namutamba and observations of the Phelps-Stokes Commissions in the case of Currie	Arboretum (9) Containers (6) Experimental Farms (1) The Farm Animals (2) Fish-pond (11) Lectures by Science Tutor (4) People in the Community (8) Poultry (3) Laboratory work (7) Snake-pit (10) Visual Aids in Classroom (5)	1. General work of the institution including the erection of buildings done by the students themselves; 2. A 25-acre farm under cultivation; 3. Thirty oxen trained to work with students, 2 wagons, 1 cart. 4. A herd of 20 cows, sheep, pigs and poultry in the care of students. 5. Extensive community service.

presents data supplied by the Commissions on the Currie Institute set alongside information available on Namutamba to show the former was as ambitious as the latter.[1)]

15.9 The table would seem to support two principal conclusions:

(a) Namutamba and the six teacher-training projects listed in paragraph 14.6 above, which have taken on the description of innovations, were nascent in African intellectual history and educational experience in the 1920s and earlier;

(b) The recommendation of the international evaluation team that Namutamba might draw upon the experience of other countries including African states[2)] needs to be specifically expanded to include the African experience in history if only to increase awareness of the reasons - educational, political, agricultural and economic - behind the failure of the precursors of the rurally-oriented teacher-training institutions and their associated primary schools to turn the primary school into an effective instrument of economic progress, a goal which was not achieved by the Currie Institute or the Tanzanian Middle School and its syllabuses or Bakht-er-Ruda.

15.10 Such awareness cannot fail to embrace the significance of the experience of the founding Principal of Bakht-er-Ruda, V.L. Griffiths, who incidentally was one of the architects of the

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1) Information has been culled from :
RP/Evaluation Report N° FMR/ED/EDR/75/101, Paris July 1975
RP/Evaluation Report N° FHR/ED/EDR/75/104, Paris July 1975
Report of Paraa Conference : The Structure of Uganda's Education System, Kampala 1975
Unesco Approved Programme and Budget for 1973-1974, 170/5 Approved Project 1.26.2 paras. 328-329
T.J. Jones : Education in Africa, Phelps-Stokes Fund 1922, pp.239-243.

2) RP/Evaluation Report N° FMR/ED/EDR/75/101, Paris July 1975, p.59.

Kericho conclusions in 1966, nor of the advice of the International Advisory Committee on Agricultural Education and Science to Unesco, which met in Paris a year after the Kericho Conference.

15.11 The Committee cautioned against a primary education base which is either too narrow or too heavily weighted with manual skills and crafts, because inherent limitations in such an educational fare will limit human capacity for effective change. It added: 'it is generally recognised that primary schooling - and, that is, without the infusion of manual and productive skills - is not in itself a satisfactory base for technicial training.. In countries where secondary education is not highly developed (e.g. Mali), improvements in primary education as are foreseen, or achieved by agricultural orientation of primary schools, coupled with post-primary vocational training, which includes a certain follow-up of general education[1], is a method which helps achieve the objective of securing a satisfactory base'.[2] The muted caution on the Mali project should not escape notice.

15.12 V.L. Griffiths did not have to mute his cautionary remarks. In his paper to the Kericho Conference entitled 'The Education of the Young in Rural Areas', Griffiths argued :

> 'I hold the view, based on my own experience (and I have not seen evidence to the contrary) that in backward rural areas the schools cannot be made a main instrument of economic progress ... only when economic development is already taking place can the schools be expected to play a part - and then it will be an important but subsidiary part ... The difficulty of establishing new outlooks permanently is often underestimated both by reformers and idealistic educationists, who should know better. It is often suggested that all that is needed is a

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1) ILO/Unesco proposed project for Mali.

2) Report : SC/CS/213/6, 9 October 1967, pp.49-50.

> new syllabus and some improvements in Teacher Training. In fact some countries have a remarkable record of changing syllabuses - all without noticeable effect. What we are asking for is really a revolution in the teacher's outlook and teaching habits .. The achievement of maximum reform would involve a long period of time.'[1)]

(e) Functional literacy

15.13 Within the African experience also is functional literacy that combined with other services of activities to provide Basic Education for the unschooled adult. It was at work with a difference. It was not always directed so overtly towards production and material well-being, in terms of coffee, pineapples, rice, livestock care, to take a random sample of the project concerns referred to in paragraph 14.10 above. Material well-being was expected to be a by-product of a process in which ability to read and to understand the written word led to a deeper appreciation and internalisation of expanding and changing guides to conduct in day-to-day living. One knows only too well the clumsiness in translating the idea into action and mistakes of uninformed operators, which led to a certain amount of cultural erosion. And these were not the last then, nor since.

15.14 Nonetheless, East Africa, Madagascar and Ghana provide examples in the African experience of specific cases where functional literacy formed part of a package designed to assist in the re-interpretation of what people could get out of life in personal fulfilment and creativity as well as material well-being.

15.15 The policy of insistence by missionaries working in East Africa that mass literacy in the mother tongue and a good standard in vernacular studies should be achieved before instruction

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1) Report : Kericho Conference on Education, Employment and Rural Development, Nairobi 1967, pp. 307, 317.

in European languages could be contemplated meant that by 1900, school and adult readers, a monthly and a teachers' journal were available in one or other of seven local languages including Swahili. The teachers' journal met a real need and every month 'there were a great number of contributions which could not be used for lack of space ... The habit of letter-writing which the African contracted in the process contributed to 673,000 letters carried in Uganda alone in 1900, an increase of about 100,000 over the previous year.'[1] Four years previously an estimated 57,380 men, women and children in and - more important - outside the Christian church were able, or learning, to read, a figure which stands up creditably to the target populations of literacy projects of the 1960s and 1970s listed in paragraph 14.10 above.

15.16 No case is being made for the policy, the motives behind which may well have been varied or even unwittingly mixed. Note is just being taken of a successful experiment in functional literacy which put a powerful tool in the hands of large numbers, for example the Baganda in Uganda. Henry Wright Duta, one of the founding fathers of modern Ugandan education, was very much in the thick of the movement to make the written word available[2] as part of a package which was intensely functional. The package engendered self-confidence, sometimes arrogant, often over-bearing to the extent of differentiating those who were exposed to it from others. But the self-confidence in the process was personally fulfilling, especially when the habits of industry it encouraged produced visible results in the capacity to be productive and acquire a social status in the community.

15.17 In Madagascar, functional literacy as part of a package was even more impressive. The Malagasy generation of the African intellectual community who witnessed the revival of missionary

1) V. Harlow and E.H. Chilver : History of East Africa, Oxford 1965, Vol.II, pp.205-206.

2) E. Stock : The History of the CMA, London 1899, Vol.III, p.449.

endeavour in their country during the reign of Queen Ranavalona II (1863-1883) found their language, which their people had helped missionaries to reduce into writing, to be a means of contributing to periodicals. This was also a period in which the Malagasy language as it is written today was perfected by Malagasy and European scholarship channelled through the missions. One important work may be cited as a product of the times : Tantara sy fombandrazana (History and Customs) by the Malagasy scholar and a Minister of the government, Rainandriamampandry.[1)]

15.18 Functional literacy, at this time in Madagascar, demonstrated the innovative. From the first crucial stages between nationals and foreigners in making the scriptures available, it moved to the second stage of bringing about uniformity in spelling and the expansion of written literature while the oral increased the capacity for describing, and communicating on, interesting novel and familiar experiences. Wherever this occurred, as it happened in Madagascar, the result was the same - an indigenous language expanded in content, it improved its capacity to make and maintain culture, it extended its scope for widening the horizons of those who spoke it. In short, its users experienced cultural identity; they did not have to look for it. A reflection of this exposure is the incomparably huge number of children in schools who were being taught in the Malagasy language, on the eve of the colonial period in 1896 - 164,000 of them. The educational fare might have been little more than acquisition of a certain amount of literacy in return for a certain degree of religious teaching.[2)] But horizons were widening all the same; and material well-being was not ignored.

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1) H. Kitchen : The Educated African, New York 1962, p.250, which states that the publication was unmatched in scope, depth and detail by the 1960s.

2) H. Kitchen : The Educated African, New York 1962, p.250.

15.19 The Ghana experience in functional literacy, contemporary with that of Madagascar mentioned above, can be said to have had a materially productive component developed along with it, if not directly worked into it as in more recent times. The experience is traceable to a Christian mission in Ghana, the Basel Missionary Society of Switzerland, deciding in 1835 that nothing should be left untried which could help the newly-converted Christians to rise above poverty and neglect.[1)]

15.20 Once this decision became a matter of policy, laying out of villages with attention to sanitation and advice on productive farming was a matter of course. Preparation of young artisans at the post-primary level became a necessary part of a school system to the extent that the Phelps-Stokes Education Commission visiting Ghana in 1920 could say: 'It is probable that these shops prepared more mechanics than any other mission agency in Africa, and rivalled even the Public Works Department of the Government. Supported by a Basel Trading Company, their commercial activities reached the economic life of the people, influencing their agricultural activities, their expenditures for food and clothing and developing habits of thrift and home life.'[2)] The requisite teacher education - and in two native languages - was found to be imperative.

15.21 The resultant package of opportunities, which the people heartily welcomed and used for self-realisation and the improvement of the quality of life, was completed with literacy work and literature in the two local languages. Two items of this literature were, The History of the Gold Coast and Asante, by the Ghanaian scholar, Carl Rheindorf, and a dictionary by the Swiss

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1) W. Schlatter : Geschichte der Basler Mission, 1815-1915, Basel 1916, Vol.II, pp. 135-156, 165.

2) T.J. Jones : Education in Africa, Phelps-Stokes Fund 1922, p.134.

J.C. Christaller, which has been described as 'a dictionary in the first rank of dictionaries of African languages or indeed of any language'.[1)]

15.22 But it is to the material content of the programme package that attention is specially drawn - cultivation of cocoa, for export as well as for home consumption. Recorded facts show that not one person or group alone can claim the merit for the beginning and the growth of the cocoa industry, but a number of key roles can be traced to the following :

(a) the Basel Mission for its innovative and imaginative planning of the foundation of its formal and non-formal systems of education to include the introduction of the cocoa tree to Ghana;

(b) the Ghanaian, Tetteh Quarshie, a product of that system and the animator who subsequently created the necessary confidence among his countrymen that their labours in the growing of cocoa would be successful;

(c) the farmers in and around the Mission stations who were touched, directly or indirectly, by the modest functional literacy programme of the Basel Mission and accepted to participate in the experiment of growing cocoa on their own farms;

(d) the systematic action of government, assisted by the Mission stations, which opened the way to cocoa cultivation on a large scale; and

(e) the support of merchants, African and European, which guaranteed the marketing of the increasing crops until an industry was developed which was

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1) C.P. Groves : The Planting of Christianity in Africa, London 1954, p.229.

> contributing, by 1925, nearly 44 per cent of the total world cocoa exports, the first memorable shipment of 80lb of cocoa having been made in 1891 and the first planting by the farmer missionary Johannes Haas having been attempted in 1857.[1)]

15.23 It is interesting to note that the external theoretical and educational experience behind the Basel Mission experiment in Ghana was the Realschule of Germany and Switzerland which was providing a general post-primary education with emphasis on manual work as an alternative to courses leading to the academic abitur.

15.24 However, the most interesting fact of all is that the amazing end result of the Ghana experience on learning to grow cocoa, with roots in the package of Basic Education services of the 1850s, was basically the accomplishment of African farmers. There was little help from the colonial government beyond the provision of the necessary transportation system.[2)] It was Basic Education at its most functional, where learning was seen both by mediators and beneficiaries to be taking place and benefiting both the participants and the country in which they lived.

(d) The Rural Poor

15.25 In the main, the people immediately touched by the three kinds of action in Basic Education in history illustrated above - children in school, teachers-in-training, and adults outside the school system - were living in circumstances of social change. But the change was increasing their chances not only of being differentiated from their less well-placed fellow-countrymen but also of benefiting from their own widening horizon as well as from their widening contact with the outside world. Among their less fortunate countrymen were some who lived in extreme poverty beyond the normal reach of the kinds of action described above. They were,

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1) G.A. Wanner : The First Cocoa Trees in Ghana, Basel 1962, pp. 13, 24.
2) F.M. Bourret : Ghana, UUP 1960, p.117.

and are, given some attention, seldom by governments, mostly by voluntary organizations. Whatever is done with, and for, them is rarely considered to be educational; nor would it qualify as such.

15.26 How else could the education of the rural poor have been so inconspicuous in the two major Church conferences in recent times, such as the Protestant All Africa Churches Conference on Christian Education in a Changing Afria, held in Salisbury in 1962, and the Pan-African Catholic Education Conference, held in Leopoldville in 1965? One would have thought that such conferences would adequately reflect this feature of the Church's service. The Salisbury Conference recognised 'the wide gaps that are appearing between sections of African society, such as rich and poor ...'. It thought that 'programmes aimed at bridging these gaps usually consist of attempts to raise the general awareness of the nation by efforts in the field of literacy, publications, press and radio, evening classes and discussion groups and an enlightened Church leadership'. It suggested 'that the Church must play its part by participating in all these efforts'.[1)]

15.27 That whole area of the rural poor and their Basic Education has tended to remain outside education. For its marks have always been social welfare, charity, good works and good intentions which unwittingly evoke unsolicited gratitude in an unequal giver-receiver relationship.

15.28 There have been very rare exceptions, of course, which may be described as the innovative precursors of the Ethiopian experiment referred to already. A unique example was the settlement at Frere Town on the coast of Kenya near Mombassa in 1875 to receive and provide for freed slaves. The choice of Salter Price, a Church Missionary Society missionary in charge of vocational settlement in

1) Report : All Africa Churches Conference on Christian Education in a Changing Africa, OUP 1963, p.95.

Nazik near Bombay, which had extended its service to African slaves rescued from slave dhows, to start the Frere Town experiment, proved favourable. He could draw upon the educational experience of some 200 liberated African slaves who had passed through the Indian institution, a small number of whom, known as Price's young Africans or as his Nazik boys, had trickled back to East Africa.[1)]

15.29 When Price began the Kenyan settlement, it was one of these repatriates, George David, who started the first instruction classes as the principal teacher[2)], an experience which is not basically different from the confidence which the Peasant Associations of the Ethiopian experiment have stimulated when they have been encouraged to appoint teachers from their own communities. Temporary sheds gave way to permanent buildings. By 1880 there were more than 400 people in the settlement, the core of which were returned destitute slaves. Many of them had little 'shambas' (gardens) of their own and were supporting themselves. The African principal educational method of participation and involvement had produced results. The view of the sponsoring Mission was that 'the freed slaves of 1885 were received, cared for, fed, clothed and taught by the freed slaves of 1875 now leading a life of quiet industry'[3)].

15.30 A testimony to the success of this experiment in the education of the poor and destitute was the envy which the relative prosperity of the Frere Town colony excited in the surrounding countryside. Repatriates from external slavery could be seen to arrive with nothing except their freedom and to find encouragement to cultivate their little plots of ground, build their own huts, live in comparative comfort as free men and see their children taught to read and write. Masters of domestic slaves viewed all this 'with envious hatred, the slaves not less envious longings'[4)].

1) E. Stock : The History of the CMS, London 1899, Vol.III, p.84.
2) E. Stock : The History of the CMS, London 1899, Vol.II, pp. 431-432, Vol.III, pp. 87, 91.
3) E. Stock : The History of the CMS, London 1899, Vol.III, pp. 90-91, p.408 (author's italics).
4) E. Stock : The History of the CMS, London 1899, Vol.III, p.91.

16. Lessons from the African Experience

16.1 Basic Education at work in the four main types of cases briefly sketched in the preceding paragraphs would seem to caution some hesitation in applying the term 'innovation' to many an experiment which goes today with that label. Basic ideas and techniques are still at the trial stage, which implies a restart of something that is not unknown in the African experience. As they stand today in most African countries, it would not be cynical to apply to them W. Clifford's view of community development in Africa, of which they are indispensable elements : 'It can be said that what is true ... is not new and what is new is probably not true'[1], not true in the sense that it has yet to prove itself and become a source of reliable information.

16.2 Which leads to the first of three positive lessons for Basic Education programmes today that may be drawn from a historical perspective - the time-scale lesson. Every one of the reasonably successful Basic Education efforts of the past took a much longer period than the life of the longest-lived Basic Education project of our time to bear fruit and to earn a place in history and educational literature. It stands to reason that not to expect the lesson of the forester's cycle to be applicable to Basic Education schemes encourages the predisposition to endorse them when time cannot be compressed, in their case any more than in others, and they have some way to go before they can justify acceptance. In short, there is the need to allow time for effort to satisfy the rigorous criteria of adequacy of performance, internal efficiency and process-effectiveness. The corollary to the implied willingness to suspend judgment would be a more widespread expectation that assessment of how the criteria are being met at one point in time would err less on the side of generous reporting and psychological identification with authority and more on the side of candid reporting that recognises conflict.

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1) W. Clifford : 'Formation des Cadres', in Report of the Catholic Education in the Service of Africa, Leopoldville 1965, p.300.

16.3 In Basic Education through the School and Teacher Training, the revolution in the teacher's outlook called for by projects like the New School, l'Enseignement Fondamental, the Community School and the Namutamba and Bunumbu teacher-training schemes would seem to suggest a longer time-scale than envisaged. Maximum reform would involve a longer period of time - thirty years is one estimate - while a new generation of teachers received a much fuller education, along with several other measures including a great increase in expenditure to attract better quality students to the teaching profession and a considerable increase in high quality staff to man the higher classes in increased secondary and training provision.[1] A beginning has to be made though; but then it must be acknowledged to be a beginning, irrespective of political considerations, with the restraint and the guarded optimism that does not announce a discovery of oil at the commencement of exploratory drilling and its organization.

16.4 The second lesson is best left to be deduced from a specific example and a series of questions it suggests. Bakht-er-Ruda graduated into a third-level educational institution from a primary teacher training college designed to train teachers for primary schools in rural areas in the spirit, as already mentioned in paragraph 15.4 above, of the recommendations of the Phelps-Stokes Education Commission to Africa in the 1920s. While it has continued to be concerned with primary teacher training, Bakht-er-Ruda shares the experience of several of the crop of Phelps-Stokes-inspired teacher-training colleges in Africa. They outgrew the purpose for which they were founded - the training of the primary school teacher and community leader in and for the rural environment without having reared any institution to take their place as nuclear centres of networks of primary schools associated with them in the task of transforming the rural environment.

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1) Report : Conference on Education, Employment and Rural Development, Kericho 1966, Nairobi 1967, p.317.

16.5 Forty years after the establishment of Bakht-er-Ruda, 'a comprehensive Education Sector Review' in the Sudan found the urgent need of having to start all over again. 'Work must start', the Review stated, 'on the introduction of a number of integrated rural education centres (IRECS) as model primary schools whose educational services are extended to the young and whose enlightening and vocational activities are directed to adults and to the surrounding community'.[1] The vacuum the projected centres are designed to fill must be seen against the background of what the founding Principal of Bakt-er-Ruda had to say a decade before the review, giving it as his considered view, based on his own personal experience (to which he had seen no evidence to the contrary), as already mentioned, that in backward areas the primary schools cannot be made a main instrument of economic progress, let alone of rural transformation.

16.6 Bakht-er-Ruda currently 'possesses a wealth of educational experience and tradition. It formulates curriculum, edits school text-books, trains primary and intermediate school teachers, sets examinations for Primary Teacher Training Institutes and Intermediate Teacher Training Institutes and conducts research in educational methods'. It is one of two institutions designated to service the IRECS, the other being at Maridi in Southern Sudan. Its pilot associated schools, according to informed sources, are still strongly oriented towards academic subjects, though attempts are being made to introduce more practical ones. Success in examinations is still dependent on obtaining required marks in academic subjects and no consideration is given to date to practical achievement.

16.7 Against this background three questions may be asked, the answers to which may constitute a worthy lesson from the past for current and future projects designed to do what Bakht-er-Ruda was set up to initiate. First, are we witnessing yet another case of

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1) Report : A Strategy for Action, January 1977, summary in English p.5.

a truly innovative project which, in the words of O. Le Brun, has in the end been absorbed by the conventional system because of resistance from within (the people responsible for promoting change are, themselves, products of the school system) and from without (parents think diplomas have magical powers)?[1] Second, what precautionary measures have been built into projects of Basic Education (through the School and the Training College), the resurgent projects of our time, the IRECS, the Namutambas, the Bunumbus and the New Schools, to prevent them being so fitted into what has turned out to be the Procrustean bed of the formal system of education? Thirdly, if the past has no evidence to offer against the validity of these questions (and in the author's view the documents consulted have not), then, is there not a case for avoiding mere parallelism between the Nairobi and Kericho approaches so frequently tacitly accepted in educational literature (paragraph 12.3 refers) in some such words as 'attempts to reform its formal education system have been paralleled by the establishment of a wide variety of educational programmes outside the school system'?[2] Is there not a case for giving greater weight to the Kericho approach?

16.8 Discussion of these questions is beyond the scope of a paper that has already given a somewhat disproportionate space to the historical perspective because of its importance. One thing is certain. Without sufficient and authentic material on, and investigation into, the past, as well as results of current surveys etc. on which any re-orientation in educational institutions can be based, the harvest from the effort and enthusiasm for 'ruralising' curricula and training the teachers for the purpose, may fall below expectation. There is nothing profound in this; but it points to

1) Fakoney Ly : Mali, Educational Options in a Poor Country in Education for Rural Development, New York 1975, p.226, quoting Le Brun, Strategies of Development, Dakar 1972.

2) Fakoney Ly : Mali, Educational Options in a Poor Country, in M. Ahmed and P.H. Coombs, Education for Rural Development, New York 1975, p.226 (author's italics).

the need for the past to be given adequate attention in connection with the investment of today for the rewards and satisfaction of tomorrow.

16.9 The third lesson from the past relates to the discontinuities which followed the success periods of schemes outside the school system. The lesson is in relation to the leadership roles and the conditions that made success possible with the minimum of dislocations. Although many more factors were at work, a Henry Wright Duta in Uganda, a Rainandriamampandry in Madagascar, a Tetteh Quarshie in Ghana and a George David in Kenya were an indispensable part of the success story of Basic Education in functional literacy for the adult work force and the poor concerned.

16.10 These people were among the best formally-educated of their time. They therefore underline the importance of the vast range of courses that are currently being mounted to bring about trained leadership. But they also underline the fact that courses for leaders in community development of any kind, functional literacy not excluded, give techniques and methods and develop ability. Requisite understanding, appreciation of the raison d'être and the deeper knowledge necessary for real leadership are an elusive intangible quality which cannot be obtained by specialist courses.[1] Conditions have to be favourable, indeed created, not only for the emergence of such a quality but also for its fruitful application. All this goes for Basic Education efforts inside the school as well as outside it, to some details of which we now turn.

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1) W. Clifford : 'Formation de Cadres', in Report of the Conference on Catholic Education in the Serivce of Africa, Leopoldville 1965, p.310.

17. Current Action

17.1 It is proposed to present the information available on features of action under organization, curriculum and personnel mediating Basic Education in and outside the school.

(a) Towards Universal Primary Education (UPE)

17.2 As far as Basic Education in school is concerned, the report of the Survey of Basic Education in Eastern Africa published in 1980 under the auspices of the Unesco/Unicef Co-operation Programme makes it unnecessary to retraverse most of the ground. The survey covered 13 countries including four, that is Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia and Zambia, of the ten countries that are central to this study. It also covers five other countries, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Swaziland and Tanzania which have been mentioned in significant contexts. The Study therefore confines itself to indications of what may take the discussion a stage further. In doing this, it attempts to place related information between the two polar ends of the spectrum of ideas as were gleaned from the Zambian proposals on Basic Education through the school and the Ethiopian effort outside it and presented in Part III of the Study.

17.3 If there is one trend which is unmistakeably evident in all ten countries, and indeed in all African countries, it is the universal desire at all cost to work towards universal primary education (UPE). But there is nothing innovative about that. UPE was embryonic in the Brazzaville Conference of 1944 which resolved, in a ten-point programme of education, not only 'to reach and penetrate the masses' but also 'to work toward universal compulsory primary education in French-speaking West Africa'.[1] It was taken up in Ghana in 1951 in response to a political decision to make primary education free and available to 'all children of the appropriate age whose parents desire that they should have it';

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1) Nairobi Conference of 1968, Working Document UNESCO-OAU/CESTA/3, Paris March 1968, para.5.

it was implemented with some but unimpressive success by 'a loyal civil service' in full awareness of 'the educational dangers inherent in the prescribed policy'.[1] It was launched, unplanned and underfunded, in the same decade in Western and Eastern Nigeria. While the Western Nigerian scheme ended with a bang and the Eastern with a whimper, 'almost unnoticed a smaller and better funded scheme was launched in the Federal Territory (now the State) of Lagos, which from that time has enjoyed UPE'.[2]

17.4 The trend continues with a difference. African countries have adopted the language that has been built round the concept of Basic Education to present familiar aspirations. Partly motivated by genuine concern for the welfare of their people, and partly in response to public pressure to produce popular educational policies, they are giving shape to their educational strategies for meeting what has now become an inescapable need to fulfil a demand of a human right. In 1961 it was a Conference of African Ministers in Addis Ababa which set the date of 1980 as the target for achieving UPE in the region. But each country has got the message and almost all have set their own target dates.

17.5 The 35 countries represented at the Addis Ababa Conference, including all the selected countries except Angola, had not achieved UPE by 1980. But they tripled their primary school enrolment during the period 1960-1977. Their growth rates remained high and were increasing during the period. Moreover, although the target of 100 per cent was not reached in 1980, the enrolment target for 1980 originally set at Addis Ababa at 32.8 million (but subsequently adjusted) was actually reached in 1977.

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1) The Cambridge Conference of 1952, Report : African Education, OUP 1953, p.36.

2) Report : Workshop : Universal Primary Education, London February 1979, pp. 22-23.

17.6 Table I below shows a distribution of a number of African countries, with the selected countries underlined, according to their enrolment ratio (national structure) and their share in the region's population of primary school age.[1] Data refer to 1977.

Table 1

Enrolment Ratio	Countries	% of the Region's Primary School Age Population
Below 40%	Burundi, Chad, Ethiopia, Gambia, Guinea, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Sierra Leone, Upper Volta	22.6
40 - 49%	Senegal, Somalia, Sudan	7.8
50 - 59%	Benin, Liberia, Malawi, Uganda	8.6
60 - 69%	Rwanda	1.4
70 - 79%	Central African Rep., Ghana, Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Tanzania	35.9
80 - 89%	Botswana, Zaire	8.6
90 - 99%	Kenya, Madagascar, Zambia	10.5
and above 100%	Cameroon, Congo, Gabon, Lesotho, Mauritius, Swaziland, Togo	4.6
		100.0%

17.7 The figures of the table should, of course, not be taken at their face value, for three reasons :

(a) They are inflated by the inclusion of repeaters and late entrants in the data on which they are based. Thus, a country such as Cameroon, which has an enrolment ratio exceeding 100%, may still not have sufficient capacity to enrol all children

1) B. Fredriksen : Progress towards Regional Targets for UPE : A Statistical Review, Unesco 1980, Section 4.3. Note that Angola and Mozambique which were not represented at the Addis Ababa Conference both had enrolment ratios around 100% in 1977.

of primary school age as a part of this capacity is used by repeaters;

(b) Information on school enrolments gives numbers registered on admission but does not necessarily reflect the level of continuing attendance;

(c) There may be errors in either the enrolment or population figures or both.

Nevertheless, the table is a guide to the measure of achievement in the numbers of primary school age children who are receiving some Basic Education. Of the ten countries selected for this Study, Angola would seem to be in the lead, followed by Kenya and Zambia, then Benin and Uganda some way behind, with Somalia and Sudan almost catching up, while Ethiopia, Mali and Upper Volta bring up the trail with less than 40 per cent of their primary school age children in school.

17.8 The effort is being made within educational strategies at different stages of formulation.

(i) Organization : The Vertical Structure

17.9 One aspect of the organizational component of strategies which has been comparatively easy to decide is the vertical structure of the school system within which Basic Education is being, or is to be, mediated. While all the ten selected countries include 6 or 7 years primary schooling from the age of 6 or 7 as the main section of their Basic Education structure, four of them - Angola, Sudan, Uganda and Upper Volta - view pre-primary education, respectively of one, two, one and three years duration, as an integral part of a child's Basic Education. Beyond the primary classes, all the countries except Ethiopia and Uganda envisage the development of a further two- or three-years period as a continuation of primary schooling or the first cycle of the secondary course during which the Basic Education of the child will be rounded off with an intensive orientation towards the world of work for the many and a foundation of a practical nature for the few who would proceed to a full secondary course.

17.10 Benin seems to be an interesting exception with neither pre-school nor post-primary end to a primary course available from 7 to 13 or 14 years for boys and from 7 to 14 or 15 years for girls.[1] However, informed sources disclose that it is intended to reduce the length of the course from 6 to 5 years and to make it better adapted to the realities of the country.

17.11 Table II is a visual representation of the vertical structural arrangements to which African countries are working.[2]

17.12 The post-primary end of the structure has already been commented upon in paragraph 13.18 above. The pre-school end is considered here. Pre-school education has emerged in the countries which have it on the initiative of private individuals and groups as more and more mothers find employment in salaried posts in the modern sector of the economy. In countries like Ethiopia and Kenya, where there are large concentrations of international personnel, pre-school education has been developed to meet a growing demand from nationals as well as from expatriates. La Fontaine in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, for example, remains one of the most popular pre-school and primary institutions with an interesting history of beginnings from the initiative of an expatriate to recent management by a national, who was caring for 200 Ethiopian and 50 expatriate children in 1979.

17.13 Ethiopia and Kenya represent two contrasting attitudes of Governments to pre-school education in the African region. 'The Ethiopian authorities encourage the opening of pre-school institutions by popular associations which would be responsible for the recruitment of teachers and payment of teachers' salaries. Government would concern itself with the training of pre-school personnel. But Kenya would like to provide all children with pre-school education

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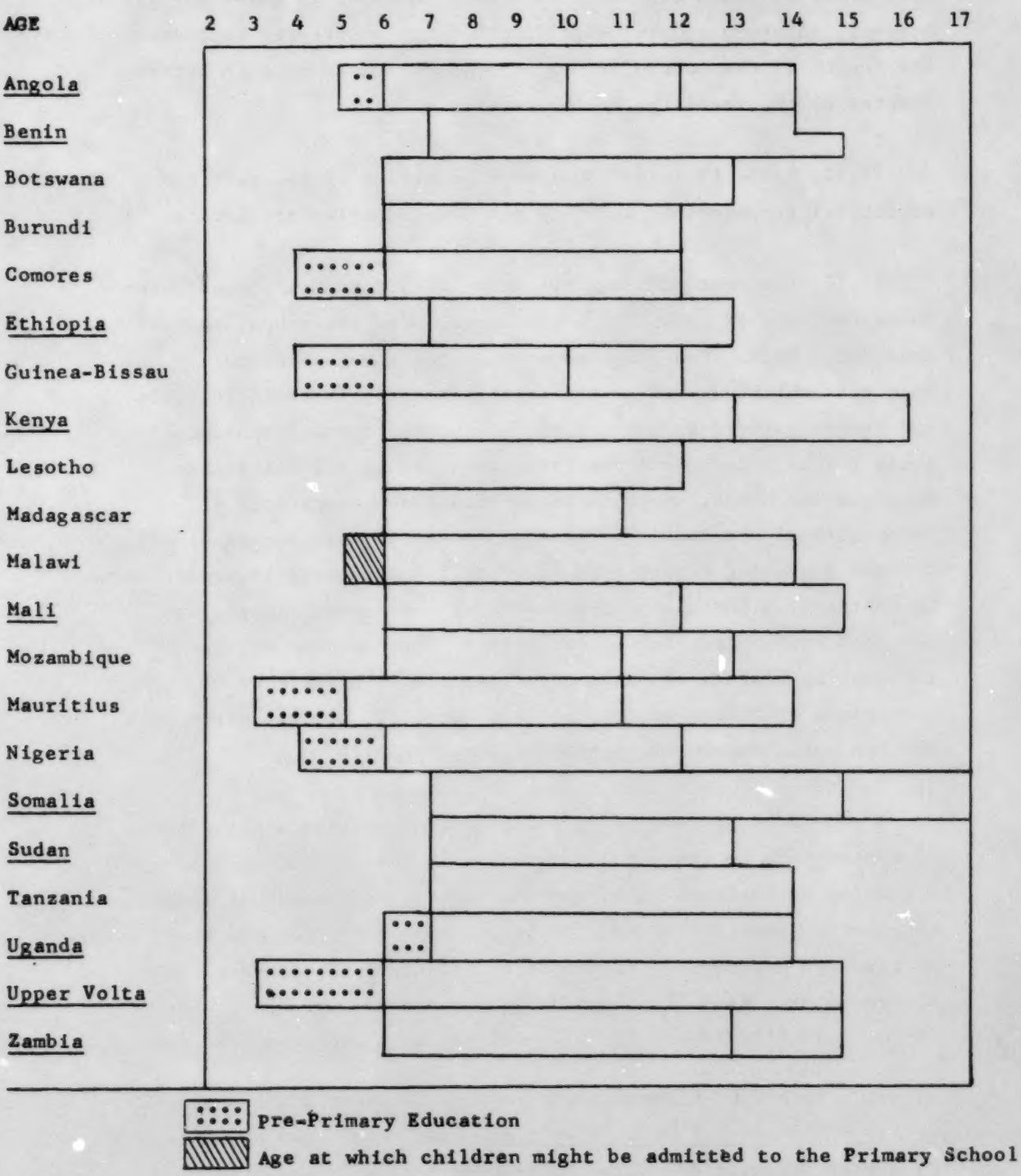
1) M. Gomez and H. Mignanwande : Working Document N°1 for Seminar on the Definition of Basic Education, Bamako Mali 3-8 November 1980, p.2.

2) Survey of Basic Education in Eastern Africa, Unesco/Unicef Co-operation Programme, Nairobi 1980, p.12, provided the basis.

Table II

DURATION OF BASIC EDUCATION AND PROBABLE AGE OF PUPILS
IN THE TEN (UNDERLINED) AND OTHER COUNTRIES



under the Ministry of Housing and Social Services, with assistance from the Ministry of Education in the development of curricula and the preparation of teachers.'[1] Both countries, though, would seem to consider pre-school education as part of the Basic Education structural arrangements within the formal system. Sudan, however, is categorical in its decision that 'pre-school education should not be considered part of the structure, but support by the Ministry of Education must be given to these organizations, individuals or private bodies who construct pre-level educational institutions'.[2]

17.14 Angola, Uganda and Upper Volta, where there is pre-school education respectively of 1, 1 and 3 years duration, would seem to be the only three countries which have so far come to recognise the provision at that level as an essential part of the formal system. The view has been offered that expansion of pre-school educational institutions is considered with fervour by most countries in Eastern Africa and that hesitancy to mention pre-school education when speaking of Basic Education is more a reflection of the difficulties of financing it at this moment in time than the lack of priority attached to pre-school education itself.[3]

17.15 Whatever fervour there may be, however, is tempered by realism from the knowledge that, so far, the majority of the clients of pre-school education are the few haves and not the many have-nots. Consequently, it would be politically unacceptable to be seen to invest scarce public funds in it and to seek to develop it as the first rungs of the educational ladder as well as an organic part of the formal system. While management of pre-school

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1) Survey of Basic Education in Eastern Africa, Unesco/Unicef Co-operation Programme, Nairobi 1980, p.15.

2) Report : A Strategy for Action, January 1977, Summary in English p.5.

3) Survey of Basic Education in Eastern Africa, Unesco/Unicef Co-operation Programme, Nairobi 1980, p.10.

education remains in private hands and the profit-motive cannot therefore be completely excluded, governments have the moral responsibility to ensure that cost to parents is matched by internal efficiency. At present, the responsibility is honoured in the breach, more often than not, for several reasons including shortage of supervisory educational personnel and of facilities for training the required teachers.

17.16 Nevertheless, there is evidence of 'numerous programmes aimed at educating parents, and especially mothers, in child and health care and other aspects of family life which reveal the unmistakeable concern of governments with laying the very earliest foundations of a child's education'.[1] Presumably such programmes would strengthen the hands of the mother - normally a working woman - for the tasks involved, provided they do not accentuate conflict in content- and value-orientation between such novel provision and the mother's traditional tasks in the total education of her children, her sole responsibility up to the age of 7 or 8 when the father takes over the education of the male children while she continues with that of her daughters.[2]

17.17 Health care and related activities in the new programmes, though important, would constitute but a small part of the indigenous educational claims upon the working mother on behalf of her children, which she had 7 or 8 years to meet. Pre-school education must necessarily eat into the time with consequent loss in indigenous education but little or no guarantee that compensatory provision would be available to the children concerned. The inherent contradiction between current demand for an education which promotes the

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1) Survey of Basic Education in Eastern Africa, Unesco/Unicef Co-operation Programme, Nairobi 1980, p.10.

2) J. Kenyatta : Facing Mount Kenya, London 1965, p.102; A.B.C. Ochotta-Ayayo: Traditional Ideology and Ethics among Southern Lao, Uppsala 1976, p.63; P.H. Gulliver : The Jie of Uganda in Peoples of Africa, United States 1965, p.178; A. Moumouni : L'Education en Afrique, Paris 1964, p.16.

search for, and realisation of, cultural identity and the alleged fervour for pre-school education outside the home and community and away from the traditional influence of the mother needs to be resolved. Recommendation 14 of the Lagos Conference urges the African Member States 'to structure Basic Educational programmes in such a way as to allow for mobility between the school systems and non-formal educational activities'.[1] A fundamental question, therefore, that has to be faced is : what kind of structure would allow for the retention of the African mother's role - whoever comes to play it - in the presentation and development of the cultural foundations of Basic Education? A related question is : Does such unstructured arrangement, which makes it possible for parents to sit with their children in class, as has been tried in Ethiopia with the success for learning that has been claimed[2] have any lessons for those who manage the pre-school end of the structured Basic Education?

(ii) Organization : The Horizontal Structure

17.18 As regards the horizontal structure within which Basic Education is being mediated, a pattern is evolving whereby a very loose area training organization comprising a teacher training institution and the primary schools for which it trains teachers and in which its teachers-in-training practise teaching is giving way to a much more closely knit association of a teacher-training nuclear centre and a network of associated schools. In some ways, this is a return, in search of the strength that can come to such an association, to the old relationships that existed between the indigenous child/adolscent age-set learning group and the community conclave, between the Koranic schools and the Mosque, and between the village schools, the village chapels and the central church from which pastoral care came, but without the dogmatism and the authoritarianism that were to be found in them. There are indications of a genuine desire for inter-school and school/training

1) Final Report, p.44.

2) G. Mekuria : Basic Education in Ethiopia, Unesco/Unicef Co-operation Programme, Paris 1978, p.73.

college cross-fertilization in the service of the community in contrast to the older arrangements which accepted schools as useful training grounds for teachers-in-training without any obligation on the part of the training institution to concern itself with improvements in their life and work.

17.19 Perhaps Namutamba Teachers' College and Demonstration School and their associated primary schools in Uganda (the Namutamba Project), are one example of a nuclear centre and satellite schools which have developed most systematically according to a plan of action that envisaged the inclusion, in 3 consecutive years (1971 - 1973) of 3, 5 and 7 primary schools that would involve approximately 6,000 pupils and 200 teachers.[1] The idea has been regenerated at Bakht-er-Ruda in the north of Sudan with 3 satellite schools, and introduced at Maridi in Southern Sudan with another 3 schools selected for pilot work. It is a part of a strategy to develop two nuclear centres and 24 Integrated Rural Education Centres (IRECS, 10 in the Northern Region and 14 in the Southern Region) 'to make education and vocational training relevant to national development'[2].

17.20 Deserving emphasis is being placed in all the countries on the training and re-training of the teacher for the tasks of Basic Education. Angola offers an example of effort in this direction. Eight teacher-training institutions have already been established in the recent past for thepurpose. There is a plan to develop library and documentation facilities in support, particularly of refresher and re-training programmes that would be required.[3] Benin opened 5 new training colleges in 1978 in

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1) Experimental Integrated Project on Education for Rural Development, Namutamba, Uganda, ED/816/230377, December 1970, pp. 2, 3.

2) Report of the Tripartite Review Mission on the Pilot Project at Maridi, 5-19 March 1980.

3) Document de Projet : Formation d'enseignants ANG/76/006/D/01/13, Gouvernement de la République populaire d'Angola, 20 March 1979, paras. 11, 12.

addition to its single one, F. Nadjo in Porto-Nuovo, to provide teachers for the New School.[1] In every case, the emerging pattern is the nuclear centre and its satellite schools which seek progressively 'to introduce children to a working life in a changing economy and prepare them towards coping with the revolutionary changes taking place in the process without causing them to despise or reject their home and neighbourhood'.[2]

(iii) A Resource Institution

17.21 The emerging structure is having to rely not only on internal initiatives but also on external support from curriculum developers, some of whom are becoming a further extension of the structure itself, to do what the Kenya Institute of Education has been doing for Kenya's training colleges and primary schools for a decade and a half, a service which led to the adoption in that country of a series of changes - in syllabuses and text-books - grouped under the title of the New Primary Approach. Established in 1964, a year after independence and a major revision of primary school syllabuses, the Institute has the functions of 'revising or designing syllabuses, supporting the development of text-books and teaching materials, conducting in-service courses and workshops for teachers involved with the trying out of materials, carrying out orientation programmes for administrative officers and acquainting them with new syllabuses and course books'[3]. These activities enabled the Institute to spearhead the adoption of the New Primary Approach in about 50 per cent of the country's 5,000 primary schools by 1967. The Institute continued to keep the Approach under revision, much of which took place in the schools themselves.[4]

1) Benin : Propositions pour le developpement de l'éducation, Unesco 1978, p.61.

2) A. Curtis : The Primary System of Education in Kenya with Reference to Employment and Rural Development, Kericho Conference Report, Nairobi 1967, p.297.

3) Annual Report 1974 : Kenya Institute of Education, Nairobi March 1975, p.3.

4) See footnote 2).

17.22 Counterparts of the Kenya Institute, naturally with varied functions and at different stages of development in effectiveness, are to be found in almost all the ten countries. In Benin, the preparation, production and distribution of teaching materials has been recommended to be entrusted to a 'Centre de production de matériels pédagogiques'[1]. In Mali, promotion of the research that will assist in the adaptation of the work of training colleges and schools to the environment has been assigned to the National Pegagogical Institute (IPN)[2]. Somali's Curriculum Department of the Ministry of Education, supported by the National Adult Education Center with organization of teacher courses and production of texts and by the Somali Institute of Development. Administration and Management with research, provides a meaningful counterpart.[3] In the Sudan, Bakht-er-Ruda has not only a continuing responsibility of giving research support to primary education in general but also of being the resource institution for its own integrated rural development centres as well as for those of the south focussed on Maridi.[4]

(b) Structure in Out-of-School Basic Education

I. Ethiopia

17.23 More detailed and interesting information is available on the resource institution in Ethiopia. In that country, the resource institution for Basic Education in its earliest form was a Teacher Education Panel appointed in February 1975. The Panel

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1) Benin : Propositions de l'éducation, Paris octobre 1978, pp.26-27.

2) Barthelemy Togo de la DNAFLA: Contenu de l'éducation de base, paper prepared for the Bamako Seminar on the Content of Basic Education, 3-8 November 1980, p.8.

3) Somali Democratic Republic : Report, 1974, National Adult Education Center, Mogadishu 1974, p.14; O.O. Osman Mohamed, From Written Somali to A Rural Development Campaign, Mogadishu August 1975.

4) Ministry of Education : Education under National Rule, Khartoum 1977, pp. 37, 39.

was to assist in preparing teachers for Universal Basic Education, within a new educational system that would be based on Peasants' Associations and would be in accordance with the Government's policy as was outlined in such documents as 'The Philosophy of Ethiopia Tikidem', 'The Origins and Future Direction of the Movement' and 'The Proclamation on Land Reform of 4 March 1975'. The Panel produced Lesson Units and related Broadcast material. These were mostly prepared first in English, then revised and finally translated into Amharic. By the end of the first part of its work, which coincided with the initial phase of 'The Development Through Co-operation Campaign' when schools were closed and staff and students of institutions of higher learning were sent out to the rural areas to do community development work, sufficient material had been prepared for a national programme of teacher education to be started. Moreover, the work of the Panel had also been co-ordinated with that of the Ministries of Agriculture, Community Development, Education, Public Health, The Central Statistical Office, etc.[1)]

17.24 The subsequent switch of the institution within the horizontal structure of Basic Education from the mandated Nairobi to a Kericho approach was dictated by the constraints on implementation of universal Basic Education through the school. Thirty thousand Peasants' Associations in the course of establishment were reckoned to require at least 26,000 new schools at the standard cost of $32,000 each. In addition, the recruitment and training of 70,000 more teachers at standard salaries, not to mention the additional furniture, equipment and materials that would be necessary, entailed a budgetary commitment that was out of the question. Further, the problems of half a million displaced people in the Ogaden and thousands more in the drought-stricken Wolle could not wait for money to be found and for planners to solve patiently and at their leisure.[2)] In the face of such facts, the resource institution

1) Progress Report on the Work of the Teacher Education Panel, 23 June 1975, pp. 3, 13.

2) J. Allen : Planning and Mass Education, 4 July 1978, pp. 11, 12.

altered its stance, becoming in the process the Basic Education Unit of the Adult Education Department. It subsequently worked itself out of the structured school system into the unstructured education of peasants and their children, where curriculum, of the first order of importance, evolved from participatory discussion of needs and a suitable organization was built up to service it.

17.25 One lesson that is to be learnt from the experience of the Basic Education Unit of Ethiopia and from that of all the other resource institutions within the Basic Education structures of the African countries was expressed by the Secretary of the Kenya Institute of Education in two parts, one negative and the other positive.[1] He said :

> 'To ask schools to take the lead in the process of change would be wrong : for one thing, it would be grossly unfair to the children.'

It may even be harmful for children to be exposed to education for leadership, a vision which was espoused for years in Africa, first by missionary groups and subsequently by independent governments, and which deserves a very close study. That vision turned out to be one of the seeds of failure in the Model Farm School at Beulah in Ghana referred to earlier. It is significant that the Basic Education Unit of Ethiopia should have learnt the lesson from the sheer size of the problem of trying to promote universal Basic Education through the school system and should have opted to begin from need among rural people. It is even more significant that it should have been permitted, by a revolutionary government, to choose that option in spite of some understandable opposition from the establishment.

17.26 The message from the Kenya Institute, however, offered the following positive suggestion :

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1) A. Curtis : The Primary System of Education in Kenya with Reference to Employment and Rural Development, Kericho Conference Report, Nairobi 1967, p.300.

'It is right to ask that schools should be one of the more effective and forward-looking groups in a community-wide process of transformation.'

This was a view that the Ethiopian Basic Education Unit accepted, fully aware that time was needed by schools to develop themselves into that kind of group, and in sufficient numbers, whereas rural people 'without shelter, food and clothing needed immediate help to help themselves',[1] in the course of which the learning experiences or the curriculum they needed to have would be evolved, which in turn would determine the kind of organization and training of personnel suitable.

17.27 Accordingly, the Basic Education Unit of Ethiopia worked out a detailed procedure for the implementation of a Basic Education programme in a deprived community. It is attached as Annex. Some of the essential features were : finding out community needs, available human resources in skills, identifying and training personnel, and setting in motion the building up of an organization with peasants' associations at the base, which supplied the membership of community executive education committees (local animators) and a central but mobile group, the Basic Education Team itself. In due course, the following structural components were found to be necessary :

(a) A Community Centre or Meeting Place which could be under a tree (to date there are 100 such Centres catering for 100,000 adults and children);

(b) A Community Grain Store, which peasants themselves built;

(c) A Day Care Centre, which could be in an open space of ground to release adults for gainful employment;

(d) A Reading Room - not to be confused with a library - where leaflets and posters could be kept;

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1) J. Allen : Planning and Mass Education, Addis Ababa, 4 July 1978, p.9.

(e) A Tool and Equipment Store for basic hand tools;

(f) Work-shelters where work on a co-operative basis was done;

(g) Primary Health Care Centre with models of sanitation and related health arrangements.

It may be added that a national Appropriate Technology Centre has been established, 15 km from Addis Ababa, to provide the supportive training of personnel and servicing.

II. Upper Volta

17.28 Information available on the Ramdullah Project in Upper Volta indicates that a Rural Development Fund established with the help of a loan from the World Bank and grants from other agencies decided to avoid large-scale prestige projects and to concentrate on cheap small-scale improvements that could benefit a large number of villages. It then used local chiefs and notables to explain proposals to village communities. To prove their commitment, villagers had to provide free labour for the improvement works, as was the case in Ethiopia. Those who agreed to try out proposals undertook to become pilot villages. Others were won over after being shown around the pilot villages. Ramdullah, with its 100 families, was one of the villages which agreed to give the idea a try. An extension worker was brought in to reinforce the local administrative structure, and to help begin the change which has converted a bit of scrubland into an irrigated market garden[1)]. The Rural Development Fund continued, through the experiment, to be the supportive resource institution.

III. Somalia

17.29 In sharp contrast to the Ethiopian and Upper Volta experiences, both of which are in continuing operation with suitable modifications, the Somali Rural Development Campaign, launched on

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1) P. Harrison : Third World Tomorrow, London 1980, pp.72-75.

1st August 1974, had to be completed in one year. It had to have a special set-up. It was appreciated that 'it would not be possible to repeat such a huge Campaign so easily, and that the Campaign could achieve its goal only if the rural masses became conscious of the benefit of acquiring literacy'.[1)]

17.30 The unique feature, resulting from the imperatives of such an undertaking, was the strengthening of the familiar structure of central, provincial, district and geographical unit (Beel) committees, with their leaders and local volunteers, from the ranks of the entire student-body of intermediate and secondary schools and their teachers. Only 400 pupils refused to take part and only 38 declined to continue after posting, a mere 2.8 per cent of eligible students, which left the impressive number of 15,243 to undertake the campaign. These, together with 605 policemen, 497 officers from the Ministry of Health, 230 from the Ministry of Transport and 16 from the Ministry of Life-stock, buttressed the familiar structure. In the words of the Somali scholar, O.O.Mohamed, the schools were closed in order that their pupils might assist in founding a New School with foundations in a better knowledge of the country and its peoples, in particular of the rural poor.

17.31 The group of pupils as well as teachers and officials constituted a resource institution different from any other known before, or since, in similar situations in the African continent. The appeal from their government to their idealism was not to confirm them in their hope to become future leaders of their country, but to be willing to be more realistically exposed to the need, first for 'the strengthening of national unity by demolishing the barriers between the urban and rural masses; secondly, for the revival of traditional culture through intimate contacts between student/teachers and the nomads; and thirdly, for a new awareness of the

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1) O.O. Mohamed : From Written Somali to a Rural Development Campaign, Mogadishu August 1975, p.21.

problems confronting the rural masses and their solution'.[1)]

17.32 The pupils, who comprised the major force within the Somali resource institution for the rural development campaign, were supported with two Somali Shillings per head per day while the rural communities gave them hospitality though with some reluctance initially. But this gradually disappeared as student/teachers were seen to bring human and animal health care and to teach adults to read and write. 'Girls who were teachers .. at the same time functioned as nurses .. school boys who were teachers were also utilized as animal health assistants after they had been given some ideas about this profession'.[2)]

IV. Other Countries

17.33 It is not known what other resource institutions are serving projects in other African countries. It is one's guess, though, that where they exist, they are likely to be different from those of the Ethiopian and Somali experiences which, to one's knowledge, are unique.

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1) O.O.Mohamed: From Written Somali to a Rural Development Campaign, Mogadishu 1975, pp. 23, 24, 40, 45, 48. The author had the opportunity in 1975 of interviewing Somalis including Government officials, students who participated in the campaign and some of their relatives.

2) As above, pp. 43, 44, 63.

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18. Finance

18.1 A resource institution is but one of several inputs from effort. Others for example are, first, the administrative, managerial and supervisory skills which have to be applied in order to maintain and, if possible, to improve, internal efficiency, and, second, the finance required to meet not only capital cost of plant and non-expendable equipment but also current costs. The organizational skills that are being fed into Basic Education in Africa are not easy to determine, since they must be seen in terms of quality rather than quantity. One is on surer ground, however, with respect to cost of education, subject to the reservations which must be made regarding the statistical data used as basis of conclusions.

(a) A Guide to Size of Effort

18.2 In this sense, Table III below provides a very rough guide to a measure of understanding of the size of effort in education in general and in Basic Education in particular. However, only very limited comparisons can be drawn, as the figures of the table do not always represent amounts allocated or spent the same year. Figures available on the total capital and current expenditure, for example, range between 1970 and 1977, and may have subsequently taken a different turn.

Table III

Groups of Countries with selected ten underlined	GNP per capita 1977 in US $ (1)	Expenditure (2) Capital and Current as % of GNP (3) Current on non-formal as % of total Current 1977 (2)	(3)	Selected Indicators of Current Expenditure and Levels of Enrolment in Primary/Basic Education for 1977 — School Age Children: % of Total Population (4)	% Enrolled (5)	Children in School: Cost per Child in US $ (6)	Cost per Pupil in US $ (7)	Cost per Pupil as % of GNP (8)	Pupil/ Teacher Ratio (9)	Teachers Salaries as % of Cost (10)	Total Cost as % of Current Budget (11)	Higher Education % of Current Budget 1977 (12)
I												
Burundi	128	2.9 (1977)	1.6	16.1	21.4	8	33	29.3	32	95	42.9	19.5
Ethiopia	108	2.3 (1975)	1.4	15.9	23.2	7	29	27.2	46			
Guinea-Bissau		8.6 (1978)	6.8									
Mali	117	5.1 (1977)	0.8	16.4	27.9	16	59	50.4	43	96	46.3	20.1
Somalia		5.4 (1977)	1.6									
Sudan		5.5 (1974)	3.4									
Upper Volta	119	2.5 (1977)	0.1	15.7	16.0	8	47	39.8	50	99	41.6	20.1
II												
Benin	207	5.1 (1975)	1.4	17.4	52.3	23	44	21.2	48		37.3	11.4
Malawi	154	2.2 (1975)	1.8	23.0	52.5	6	11	7.0	61	99	44.6	22.8
Uganda	300	3.2 (1975)		19.0	49.8	18	36	12.7	35	99	41.1	21.9
Tanzania	210		4.9	18.4	69.9	25	35	16.8	51		56.8	15.0
III												
Lesotho		3.4 (1973)									49.0	
Madagascar	231	4.3 (1976)		15.9	95.5	15	26	11.3	55	98	42.2	16.6
IV												
Botswana	522	7.7 (1977)		21.0	86.7	67	77	14.8	31	83	49.9	14.7
Kenya	294	5.0 (1977)	0.4	21.4	95.3	45	46	15.6	33		63.1	13.0
Nigeria		4.1 (1977)	0.4									
Zambia	458	6.1 (1977)		18.8	97.5	60	61	13.3	48	91	47.0	9.4
V												
Mauritius	740	7.4 (1977)	3.6	14.3	105.0	135	120	16.2	22	81	41.1	9.0
VI												
Angola		1.8 (1970)										
Comores		8.7 (1971)										
Mozambique												

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(The Table has been constructed from (a) Unesco Statistical Year Book 1980, pp. 659-680, 704-718; (b) Provisional Document : Dépenses Publiques d'Education et Taux de Scolarisation en Afrique STE/FIN/3 Paris January 1981, pp. 10, 25, 27; (c) Survey of Basic Education in Eastern Africa, Unesco/Unicef Co-operation Programme, Nairobi 1980.)

(b) Some Indicators

18.3 Table III regroups the 21 countries in Table II (with the 10 selected countries underlined, as before) into six, the sixth group of countries being those on which no new statistical data have been obtained, while the first five, as demonstrated in Column 5, reflect the progress towards universal primary education. The table brings into focus a number of variables which facilitate the search for insights into the effort that is being made in terms of financial allocations and expenditure. These variables are :

(i) Gross National Product (GNP) per capita (Column 1) which gives an idea of national capacity to finance development schemes including education;

(ii) Capital and Current Expenditure for all levels of education as percentage of GNP (Column 2) which is no mean feat when

- compared with Europe's figure of 5.3 per cent, Asia's 4.9, Latin America's 3.9 and Arab States' 6.2 for the year 1977, and

- taken together with the percentage of the total budget for education devoted to higher education (Column 12); but which

- alongside the provision for Basic Education outside the school system (Column 3) and within it (Column 11) would seem to indicate that action in education continues, either deliberately or unwittingly, to be wedded to the premium placed at the Addis Ababa Conference of 1961 on high-level manpower requirements and has yet to catch up with the emphasis on Basic Education at the Lagos Conference of 1976;

(iii) School-age Children :

- as a percentage of the total national population (Column 4);

- their cost per child if all of them were in school and were catered for from the current budget allocation (Column 6); and

- the percentage of their number enrolled in school, all of which accentuate not only what remains to be done for the child who is not in school, but also the greater productivity necessary to increase the funds required for achieving and supporting universal primary education;

(iv) The cost of the child in school in absolute terms (Column 7) and as a percentage of GNP (Column 8) which, while indicating the effort being made, do tell a different story when the total expenditure on all children in primary schools as a percentage of total national allocation to education (Column 11) is considered alongside the percentage given to Higher Education (Column 12); but even more revealing,

(v) Salaries of the teachers of these children as percentage of the total educational budget for primary education (Column 10) which :

- allow only, in some cases, as low as one per cent of the current educational budget for expendable equipment, and teaching materials, compared to the necessarily larger proportions that must be allocated to corresponding items, for example, science and technology, geography and art and crafts, at the second and third levels of education; and

- when taken together with the teacher/pupil ratio (Column 9) have a considerable bearing not only on how much of an educational programme can be underpinned for the individual child in school beyond the simplest fare imaginable but also how much individual attention he can expect from his teacher.

(c) Some Similarities and Contrasts Between Countries

18.4 The variables of Table III also point up certain similarities and contrasts within the scenario of efforts in Basic Education in terms of the size and proportions of the actual effort made as well as of the national capability to make it.

18.5 For example, it will be observed that, for the year 1977, Group I countries, including Ethiopia, Mali and Upper Volta of the ten selected countries, had the lowest GNP per capita among the five groups of countries (Column 1). They also showed the lowest rate of progress towards universal primary education (Column 5). The next group of countries, including Benin and Uganda, about doubled the percentage of school age children enrolled while those of Groups III and IV, including Kenya and Zambia, with correspondingly higher GNP per capita, trippled the percentage.

18.6 However, practically all the countries, excepting Kenya which spent some 63 per cent of its current budget on Basic Education in school and Benin which allocated only 37 per cent for the purpose, spent between 40 and 50 per cent on primary education irrespective of the wide differences in GNP per capita. But Mali and Upper Volta, with as low as US$ 117 and US$ 119 GNP per capita, practically topped the list of expenditure on higher education with 20.1 per cent while Kenya and Zambia, respectively, with US$ 294 and US$ 458 GNP per capita, brought up the rear with 13 and 9.4 (Column 12).

18.7 It is tempting to interpret the financial allocations in Table III as a reflection of an order of priorities in which Basic Education is given a less important place than it deserves. But Africa's heterogeneity and destabilizing pressures (in situations where there is so little to share among so many deserving causes) as well as its different stages of readiness with a political will to match aspirations with action, preclude such an interpretation. Nevertheless, when one thinks of the relatively small number of the youth of the region who benefit directly from higher education for

which the provisions in Column 12 are made, then the allocations of African countries to Basic Education outside the school (Column 3) and within it (Column 11) look pitifully small. The exceptions would appear to be Groups IV and V where Kenya and Zambia belong. These seem to have struck a balance between the claims of primary education and of higher education in contrast to countries in Groups I and II.

18.8 Column 3 would appear to confirm the view that Basic Education outside the school is still being largely paid for from non-governmental sources. The portion of the total educational budget given to such activities was less than 2 per cent in every known case except in that of Sudan which allocated 3.4 per cent. Of course, such meagre allocations can be interpreted as representing the kind of seed money that is designed to stimulate self-help activities and voluntary effort. It can then be said to have the built-in potential for multiplying the results, provided the intention is clearly stated, and provided it is understood as such by the beneficiaries, and it is unmistakably supported with the necessary organizational and managerial measures. But the small allocations may also be just a relic of the past and a heritage from the voluntarism out of which grew non-indigenous organized education in school, mosque and church. If the Lagos Plan of Action is representative of African government opinion, then the latter rather than the former is closer to the true state of affairs.[1)]

18.9 In the final analysis, however, it is the quality of the learning that takes place, rather than the source or the size of financial allocation, which matters. All that can be said is that below a certain limit of financial provision, the educational institution concerned, be it outside or within the formal system, cannot expect to develop and maintain a capability to interest and hold its clients. And when the child in school in Upper Volta is expected to stay the course and remain interested in a class of 50, the programme of which derives its support, reinforcement and

1) Cf. B.A. Clark, UN General Assembly A/S-11/14, 21 August 1980, para.29.

rejuvenation from his school's share of one per cent of the current national educational budget, a lot is being asked of him. His chances of being able to do this are better in a class of 35 in Uganda with the same amount of programme support, or in Zambia where he would be one of 48 and have nine times the support.

19. Institutional Holding Power

19.1 It is recognised that a gifted and dedicated teacher and community leader may make all the difference and do a great deal with little. But he is the exception rather than the rule. The educational institution must look to itself on the one hand and be enabled with the financial wherewithal on the other to develop its own minimum holding power which can be heightened by quality teaching and leadership when available. Which brings us to the vast question of drop-out and repetition in Basic Education in Africa.

19.2 Clearly those who drop out of an arrangement, Basic Education in this case, designed to benefit them and society, do so when they are subject to a stronger external pull on their attention and interest or self-interest than the arrangement can muster. In this sense, the ultimate success of the external pull over the institutional holding power can more correctly be described as a diminution in that power for the individual who drops out. Whether this diminution can also be equated with wastage depends on what the individual is able to make with the institutional experience he was exposed to, however limited it might have been. This is well-nigh impossible to assess, for information on beneficiaries of Basic Education who complete prescribed courses is unobtainable, let alone data on after-school performance in individual and social living of drop-outs.

(a) The Somali Experience

19.3 For example, the Somali literacy component, in the Rural Development Campaign, showed, in statistical terms, a high percentage (24.7) of 'drop-outs'. But the Somalis claim that 'this can be considered wastage, only if those who dropped out really did not acquire literacy skills, which was the main objective. But since the literacy activities were carried out in an unconventional way (many times even unsystematically), and since the nomads left the place where they were registered as students shortly before the

final test took place, it is difficult to say how far the drop-out was a wastage'.[1)]

19.4 Nor is there any information available on peasants or nomads of Somalia who dropped out of such other components of the Rural Campaign as public and animal health. It would be surprising though if, after the initial wait-and-see attitude of rural people, the visible benefits from the campaign, which encouraged them to give hospitality to the pupils, did not combine with an enlightened self-interest, developed through involvement and participation, to act as an insurance against dropping out.

19.5 Nevertheless, the insurance would be a short-term provision in the nature of things; for, the necessary internal momentum to carry on beyond the campaign could not be developed just from a political will, self-interest and even participation. It required conviction that one was on the right path, a conviction that comes from a process of animation which produces a suitable organization to foster the self-reliant belief that one could do things oneself in a situation where there is so little to hand out.

(b) The Ethiopian Experience

19.6 The Ethiopian experience would seem to support this conclusion. In one sense, there were examples of wholesale drop-out in the initial stages of the process of animation described in paragraph 17.27 above. It was not unusual for the Education Team, on their second visit to a community, to find that Peasants' Associations and the Education Committee they had elected had done little by way of preparing to promote self-help activities and of carrying out their own promises. Not infrequently, activists had managed to get themselves elected to the Education Committee, who understood their role as one of identifying what could be obtained from outside sources and of ruling the roost. In that way the

1) O.O. Osman : From Written Somali to a Rural Development Campaign, Mogadishu 1975, pp. 57, 62-63.

entire community would have fallen out of step. They had dropped out. A new beginning had to be made and the process continued of helping the Peasants' Association concerned to get back to the basic principle of self-reliance.

19.7 Fortunately, the resource institution of the Ethiopian Project, the Education Team, kept a journal of every single mission undertaken to a community from which there is plenty of evidence of the process of animation and indeed of education in self-reliance that was necessary to increase the holding power of the Project. One example would suffice. It is extracted from a report of 2 May 1978 on a meeting with the Education Committee of a community at Ogayehu. At this meeting, two members of the Committee argued that if the community accepted the tools and implements which the Education Team had brought to enable it to start the Basic Education Programme requested, the relief grain it had been receiving for years from The Relief and Rehabilitation Commission would be stopped. 'Replies were given to these comments. It was explained that it was certainly the purpose of the Basic Education Programme to remove the people from a state of dependency as soon as possible. If the people, however, wished to continue to remain dependent on charity then there was no need .. to start a programme ... If the tools and implements were not required .. they could be taken elsewhere.'[1)]

19.8 'A great commotion broke out among the people who began to shout, argue and debate with one another. All the community were involved in the commotion - men, women, children, girls and youths and for some time the situation was chaotic. The row all turned on the attitude of the two peasants towards the Basic Education and the fuss they had caused.' The long story ended with the evolution of a curriculum for a Basic Education Programme featuring, among others :

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1) Basic Education : Field Report 1977/1978, 2-3 May 1978, p.9.

(i) Preliminary work in the organization of a fishing co-operative;

(ii) Training of the Education Committee in :

- the recruitment of instructors in literacy, health and agriculture;
- the running of the education programme in the village e.g. the supervision of the instructors, the payment of salaries, storage of equipment etc.;

(iii) Organization of training for :

- selected instructors from among the peasants in the health and agriculture sectors of the programme;
- peasants in the operation of a Cinvaram soil brick-making machine;

(iv) Regular meetings with peasants;

(v) Organization of a rat-killing campaign using different trapping devices;

(vi) Conduct of a village cleanliness campaign with the specific purpose of clearing away cow-dung etc. and getting rid of mosquitoes, bed bugs and cockroaches wherever possible.[1)]

19.9 The journals of missions are glaring in their evidence of the process of animation producing a readiness to learn not only in peasants like those of Ogayehu but also among the personnel of the resource institution of the Project, the Education Team itself, which is borne out in the following passage

'Some of the group members were worried at the poor attendance at a meeting held with the peasants and the fact that people came to the meeting and went. However, it had to be remembered that it was Easter Sunday and a holiday. Some members of the group also felt impatience at the long-winded statements made

1) Basic Education : Field Report 1977/1978, 3 May 1978, pp. 9-11.

by the peasants during the meeting, although some of the members of the group had themselves obliged the peasants to listen to their own speeches lasting upwards of 30 to 40 minutes. There were complaints of being forced to listen to some of the nonsense spoken by the peasants. However when it was pointed out that the peasants themselves had had the patience to listen to what they, in their turn, may have regarded as nonsense, then this caused reconsideration of the attitudes adopted.'[1)]

19.10 When a process of animation advances beyond the political will and self-interest to bring about conviction and a readiness to learn on the part of the animator as well as of the animated, a social conscience on what needs to be done can readily develop which can, in turn, increase the holding power of arrangements for the majority, if not for all. The phenomenon of drop-out then ceases to be a concern as has been the case in Ramdullahas well as the Somali and Ethiopian efforts outside the school system.

(c) Schools

19.11 The issue of holding power, though, is a burning one in Basic Education within the school system where a suitable form of animation does not appear to have been found. It may even never be found. The issue is presented in a recent Unesco study as follows :

'High levels of drop-out are a serious obstacle to the attainment of national development goals such as universal primary education, eradication of illiteracy and equality of educational opportunities. If the holding power of primary schools is not drastically improved, even substantial future enrolment increases will not make sufficient headway against population growth to win the battle most developing countries are currently waging against illiteracy and to provide Basic Education for everyone. As regards repetition, a review of of research on promotion practices provides no conclusive

1) Basic Education : Field Report 1977/1978, 30 April 1978, p.6.

> evidence in support of the hypothesis that repetition is a more efficient way of helping low achievers than promotion. As repeaters use resources which could alternatively be used to expand enrolment or to improve the quality of the education provided, countries with high levels of repetition should carefully review their promotion practices with a view to developing more efficient ways of preventing school failure.'[1)]

And one may add : with a view to blocking one conduit for drop-outs - repetition.

(i) Some Indicators

19.12 What has been said above about the difficult of equating drop-out with wastage applies as much to the phenomena of drop-out and repetition in school as it does to drop-out in Basic Education outside the school system. It does not, however, invalidate the seriousness of the phenomena, the order of which may be gleaned from Table IV below.

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1) Unesco : Wastage in Primary and General Secondary Education, Paris November 1980, p.7 (author's italics).

Table IV

INTERNAL EFFICIENCY OF PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN TERMS OF SURVIVAL BY GRADE AND PERCENTAGE OF PUPIL-YEARS SPENT ON DROP-OUT AND REPETITION

Countries with Selected 10 Underlined	Survival for Cohorts of 1000 Pupils Starting School Around the Years Below			% of Repeaters (Latest Year available)	% of Total Number of Pupil-Years Spent on Dropout-out and Repetition for Cohorts starting Primary Education around 1976/1977
	1965/1966	1970/1971	1976/1977		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Angola					
Benin	497	601	529	17.7	40.6
Botswana	764	798	779	2.0	17.9
Burundi	322	449	469	27.2	53.4
Comoros					
Ethiopia					
Guinea-Bissau			387(1975)	18.1	58.2
Kenya		777	573	6.0	32.2
Lesotho		470	428	7.8	51.1
Madagascar		303	246	20.3	45.8
Malawi		374	302	16.0	56.9
Mali		494	606	26.7	45.8
Mozambique				28.0	
Mauritius					
Nigeria					
Somalia					
Sudan		750		2.7	22.4
Tanzania	339	836	841	0.4	7.7
Uganda			776(1975)	11.3	20.4
Upper Volta	478	540	617	18.5	37.1
Zambia	748(1978)		803	1.7	14.2

(Unesco : Wastage in Primary and General Secondary Education, Paris November 1980, pp. 13, 21, 67, 142-144. A 'drop-out' from the school system is generally defined as a pupil who leaves school before the end of the final year of the educational stage or cycle in which he/she is enrolled. 'Repetition' is what a 'repeater' does when in a given school-year he/she remains in the same grade or class and does the same work as in the previous year.)

(ii) Loss to Effort through Drop-out and Repetition

19.13 Column 5 of Table IV is an attempt to measure the loss to effort when pupils leave school before completion of the appropriate cycle or repeat classes or do both, and it cannot be demonstrated that their years in school have been of benefit in one way or another to them. The procedure followed to calculate the relevant indicators may be illustrated from the case of Upper Volta. Table IV shows that '617 pupils of the 1975 cohort of 1000 pupils would reach the 6th grade of primary education in Upper Volta. Therefore, the minimum input for this cohort would be 617 x 6 = 3702 pupil years. However, due to repetition and drop-out, calculations not included here show that the original 1000 pupils spent 5886 pupil-years, implying a "waste" of 2184 pupil-years, or 37.1% of the total input. In other words, the method assures that all input which is greater than one year per pupil per grade is wasteful.'[1)]

19.14 Column 4, the percentage of repeaters, taken together with Column 5, the percentage of the total number of pupil-years spent on drop-out and repetition for cohorts starting their primary education around 1976/1977, would seem to suggest a grouping of the selected countries into two groups according to rates of drop-out and repetition. For the latest year for which data are available, Zambia had the lowest percentage of repeaters, 1.7 per cent, followed by Sudan (2.7), Kenya (6.0) and Uganda (11.3), while Benin (17.7), Upper Volta (18.5) and Mali (26.7) showed higher percentages. As far as percentage of pupil-years spent on drop-out and repetition for cohorts starting schools around 1976/1977 is concerned, Zambia ranked lowest (14.2) followed by Uganda (20.4), Sudan (22.4) and Kenya (32.2), while Benin, Upper Volta and Mali respectively had higher figures - 40.6, 37.1 and 45.8.

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1) Unesco : Wastage in Primary and General Secondary Education, Paris November 1980, pp. 65-66.

19.15 Although these countries constitute too small a sample to form a basis for a generalization, it is interesting to note that Column 4 of Table IV shows them as being an illustration of an observation from a recent study. The study found that 20 African countries having more than 16% repeaters were former French, Belgiun or Portuguese colonies, while 11 having less than 11.5% repeaters in the past were formerly under British rule for at least a certain period of time. The same study disclosed that France, Portugal and particularly Belgium were the three countries which had the highest level of repetition in Europe, while the United Kingdom practised automatic promotion.[1] Column 4, therefore, may be said to reflect the origins in Europe of the school system concerned.

19.16 Columns 1, 2 and 3 show slight improvements in survival rates not only in Zambian schools but in those of Benin, Mali and Upper Volta as well. Kenya is a surprising exception. Nevertheless, the improvements may be considered to be part of a widening process set in motion by a concern to do more than just augment the holding power of schools. The concern is to wean African education from irrelevant inherited practices, particularly in the curriculum component of educational strategies where selection and promotion procedures that produce repetition belong.

1) Unesco : Wastage in Primary and General Secondary Education, Paris November 1980, p.22.

20. Curriculum

20.1 In taking curriculum in the broad sense of learning experiences comprising, among others, the organized content, methods, techniques and testing that are brought together for teaching and learning, we are at the heart of this widening process and, indeed, of education itself. We have already mentioned the four kinds of curriculum design available (paragraph 10.31) and juxtaposed choices in Zambia and Ethiopia, in the first case, for Basic Education in school and in the second, for Basic Education outside it.

(a) In Basic Education outside the school

20.2 We have also stressed in subsequent paragraphs the evolutionary character of the curriculum of the Ethiopian experiment in Basic Education outside the school, an indispensable approach when survival is the principal determinant of action. This was the case too in drought-stricken Upper Volta and Somalia.

(i) Upper Volta

20.3 In the Ramdulla Project in Upper Volta, the content of education for survival comprised digging of wells, with the use of the appropriate technology, far below the surface to ensure constant supply; building better storage facilities to save the harvest from the ravages of termites and other pests; constructing modest feeder-roads to link villages with the main highways and to allow participants to get their produce to market more easily; undertaking scores of minor land and water improvements, from erosion control earthworks to small dams.[1)]

20.4 Along with the construction of this infrastructure of irrigation and other works has gone the cultivation of food to eat and for sale. The enterprise is expanding to include mixed farming and crop rotation; the use of a plough, cart and harrow, combined

1) P. Harrison : The Third World Tomorrow : Penguin 1980, pp. 73-74.

with the use of fertilizers plus the manure from cattle. In the practice of crop rotation, the planting and harvesting of the staple millet would be followed by a cash crop - cotton - then by groundnuts, a protein-rich legume whose root nodules put nitrogen back into the soil.[1)]

20.5 The horizon of Ramdullah's 100 families continues to widen as they expand their activities and manage their side of a marketing co-operative and the related loans and payments system. With the proceeds of the sale of their produce, through the services of the co-operative - the benefits of which they are already enjoying - the villagers would be able to pay back their loans. The development fund, with which they started, would be topped up again and become a revolving fund, so that the progressive improvement of the first wave of villages could be used to finance development in the next group. Moreover, the villagers are already re-ordering their life to adjust to the seasons of the year. The dry season is no longer a dead time of chronic underemployment, when young men would migrate to the Ivory Coast in search of work. There is plenty for all to do, and hitherto unused human and material resources are being exploited to give a boost to local subsistence incomes.[1)] In the process human resources are being developed in a positive way, which is education.

(ii) Somalia

20.6 The Somali experiment, as already indicated, was a shot in the arm. That was all the more reason why the content of the education given was dictated by the immediate urgent need to minister human and animal health care as well as to read and write the mother tongue. Nevertheless, it indicated the directions for curriculum change in school and outside it.

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1) P. Harrison : The Third World Tomorrow : Penguin 1980, p.75.

(b) In Basic Education in School

(i) Pace of Change

20.7 Increasing attention is being given to questions of suitably-adapted content, teaching syllabuses, text-books, methods and techniques of teaching and examinations. Effort has advanced further in some countries than in others but has not gone far enough in any country. The problems are being tackled by nationals themselves, with varying results. The questions of what to learn and how, especially in the first phase of education, are being examined on the spot and in relation to such real and glaring problems as mass poverty and unemployment among school-leavers.[1)]

(ii) Extension Beyond National Frontiers

20.8 Moreover, efforts are extending beyond national frontiers in search of new ways of tackling common problems in a spirit of readiness to offer newly-acquired experiences in exchange. Appropriate support is assured from the newly-established Network of Educational Innovations in Africa (NEIDA) with its focal point at the Unesco Bureau of Education in Africa (BREDA), Dakar. A technical report on the status of these efforts and the state of development of NEIDA was drawn up following the recommendation of the Lagos Conference of African Ministers of Education inviting Unesco to study the procedures for establishing an inter-African educational information network, concerned particularly with innovations, with a view to encouraging and facilitating systematic exchanges, at the regional and international level.[2)]

20.9 Table V below has been constructed from Annexes to this report. It attempts to present a picture of the experiences that, going under the name of innovations, are requested or offered by 24 African countries, including 8 of the 10 countries selected for

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1) From Nairobi to Lagos, ED-76/MINEDAF/Ref.5, paras. 41, 42.

2) Final Report : Conference of Ministers of Education of African Member States, Lagos 27 January - 4 February 1976, p.41; ED-76/WS/66, Dakar October 1976, p.2.

this study. The information provided by the Table cannot be said to be up-to-date; but it provides indications of the directions in which African countries have decided to move within the curricular component of their educational strategies in order to make education in general and Basic Education in particular more relevant to the needs of their people. Once again, it must be stated that these directions are not new in the African experience; and they require time and more rigorous testing to qualify as trends. Nevertheless, as part of a scenario of efforts to make education relevant, they are very much in advance of the concerns of the 1960s; they reflect a re-ordering of priorities to include the internal productivity and efficiency of systems, and their external 'fitness' to the realistic social and economic needs they are supposed to serve.

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Table V

EXPERIENCES OFFERED AND REQUIRED

KEY ● Experiences Offered
☆ Experiences Required
□ Agreement in principle

24 African countries with Selected countries Underlined

	EXCHANGE IN THE AREA OF ORIENTATIONS AND STRUCTURES IN EDUCATION	BENIN	CAMEROON	CONGO	ETHIOPIA	GABON	GAMBIA	GHANA	IVORY COAST	KENYA	LIBERIA	MADAGASCAR	MALI	NIGER	NIGERIA	RWANDA	SENEGAL	SIERRA LEONE	SOMALIA	SWAZILAND	TANZANIA	UGANDA	UPPER VOLTA	ZAIRE	ZAMBIA
1	Objectives and means of adapting education to national needs		☆		●							●				☆					☆	☆		☆	
2	Adapting education - in particular to rural populations	☆	☆	☆		☆				●	● ☆					●	● ☆				●	● ☆	●		
3	Community mobilization for participation	☆		☆								● ☆							●		●				
4	Community schools in rural areas	●				☆			●		☆						☆				●			●	
5	Co-operative education	●							● ☆			●							☆		●		☆		
6	Agricultural training in community schools											☆				●									
7	Relating education and production	● ☆	☆	☆		☆			●	●	●		● ☆	●		● ☆	●				●	●	● ☆	● ☆	
8	Conceptualization, preparation and consultation on reform			☆																					
9	Self financing education			●																		☆			
10	Agreement in principle						□											□		□					□
	EXCHANGE IN THE AREA OF CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT AND REFORM																								
11	Curricula for community schools in rural areas					☆			●		☆			●			☆				●			●	
12	Cooperative education	○							○ ☆			○							☆		●		☆		
13	Agricultural training in community schools										☆					●									
14	Relating education and production	○ ☆	☆	☆		☆			●	●			☆	●		● ☆	●				●	●	● ☆	● ☆	
15	Introduction of technology and manual work in general education		☆	☆									☆								●			☆	
16	Intermediate technology (programmes and research)		●														●								
17	Rural education								☆								●						●		
18	Integration of various disciplines through environmental studies							●	● ☆				☆	☆							●			☆	
19	Professional orientation in the first cycle of secondary										☆														
20	Curriculum Reform		●		●						●	●									●		☆	●	
21	Reform of mathematics education								☆								●						●		
22	Science and technology programmes	☆															●				●			☆	
23	Curriculum development									●														●	
24	Reform of French language curriculum																●								
25	Agreement in principle						□																		□
26	Introduction of national languages as a means of instruction				●							●							●						
27	Preparation of text book in national languages													●					●						
28	Agreement in principle						□											□		□					□
	EXCHANGE IN THE AREA OF MATERIALS, METHODS AND TECHNIQUES																								
29	Production of school equipment and didactic materials using local resources	☆		☆						●		● ☆		●	●						●	●	☆	☆	
30	Low cost text book production										☆		☆												
31	Education by radio				●																				
32	Educational T.V.								●					●											
33	In service teacher training using T.V.								●																
34	Agreement in principle						□											□		□					□
	EXCHANGE IN THE AREA OF ADULT EDUCATION AND FUNCTIONAL LITERACY																								
35	Mass education	☆							●					☆					●		●		☆	☆	
36	Adult education systems									●			●		●		☆		☆		●				
37	Co-ordination of various forms of non-formal education															☆									
38	Rural press											●									●				
39	Women's education																●					●			

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(iii) Direction of Change

20.10 Table V clearly shows in lines 8, 20 and 23 that the majority of African countries have completed the initial work of conceptualization. They have their educational reforms and know the directions along which they intend to develop, confidently putting the experience they are accumulating at the disposal of, and willing to learn from, one another.

20.11 The main directions are discernible, in the first place, from lines 2, 7 and 14 of Table V, which place the accent on the adaptation of education, in general to the needs of rural populations and, in particular, to production. They can be inferred, in the second place, from lines 29, 35 and 36 which emphasize the production of school equipment and didactic materials from local resources as an essential support for teaching and learning in and outside the schools and stress the education of adults.

20.12 It is interesting to observe from line 6 that only two countries, Madagascar and Rwanda, respectively requested and offered experiences in agricultural training in community schools. And yet agriculture is the area that mainly provides productive activities for schools which, in turn, are being encouraged to develop towards becoming community schools. If production is so uppermost in current thinking; if agriculture is the principal means of becoming productive; if one cannot be productive without having a minimum of productive skills, would some agricultural skills, hence some training, not be required? Apparently not, according to line 6 of Table V, but logically yes, according to line 2, in general , and line 7 in particular, not to mention intentions in Angola and Zambia and current efforts in Benin, Kenya, Mali and Uganda.

20.13 The paradox is but one expression of the difficulty inherent in the process of educational change whereby the certainties of the past combine with the uncertainties of new departures to produce, at best, an ambivalent attitude towards change and, at worst, a conflict in the minds of many, especially parents of children exposed to Basic Education in school.

(c) The Upper Volta Experience and Variations

20.14 Upper Volta offers an illustration. It has experience not only in the familiar traditional type of primary school education but also in an experimental kind of Basic Education given and received in Rural Education Centres (RECs) designed to provide elementary education and practical agricultural skills to the 90 per cent of youths who had no chance of going to the primary school. The new curriculum of the REC comprised practical field work and instruction in agriculture interspersed with classroom related agricultural instruction and general education in French and numeracy. It was intended to converge with the traditional primary school curriculum and, ultimately, merge with it into a unified system. But it 'faced increasing resistance from villagers'. Government itself developed an 'ambivalent attitude towards the objectives to be served by the programme'. The RECs, in fact, acquired 'a stigma of blatant discrimination and its original purpose of developing to serve as a precursor to a unified and realistic system of Basic Education for all children and youths' became suspect.[1)]

20.15 The REC experiment, old in the African experience but new in Upper Volta, may have had the makings of an innovation in Basic Education but did not have a chance to become one. It has been converted into a scheme for the training of young agriculturalists.[2)] The formal primary school curriculum, while standing in

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1) M. Ahmed and P.H. Coombs : Education for Rural Development, New York 1975, p.355.

2) Formation des Jeunes Agriculteurs, FJA.

need of change, remains the main prop of Basic Education in school in Upper Volta.[1)]

20.16 Angola is currently experimenting with the Upper Volta parallel arrangements, but with a difference. The traditional primary school exists side by side with a new provisional school. The latter caters, not for school-age children for whom there are no school places as did the Upper Volta RECs, but for over-age children who should normally be graduating from the first cycle of the traditional school but never had the opportunity of entering it, partly because of the Angolan war and partly because of shortage of places. The curriculum of the provisional school is heavily weighted with productive activities. The intention is to evaluate this new effort in due course and harvest whatever valuable lessons it offers for initiating a radical reform of the curriculum of the traditional primary school and make it serviceable to production.

20.17 Without, perhaps, the same political urge to make the school a unit of production, Zambia proposes to develop practical curricular activities which will, unlike the Upper Volta experiment or that of Angola, consecutively follow in a second cycle a foundation course of seven years of Basic Education.

20.18 The Zambian intention is what Mali is currently trying to put into practice, with a difference of course. The first cycle of six years of Basic Education has the traditional primary school subjects of moral and civic education, French, Number, History and Geography, Primary Science, Arts and Crafts and Music, Manual Work and Physical Education. There are attempts to introduce the national language and to relate teaching to rural conditions. In reality, however, it is in the second cycle of three years and certain teacher training institutions that concrete activities in agriculture, gardening, stock-farming and craftwork are carried out, although

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1) Y.C. Ouedraogo : L'Enseignement de Base en Haute-Volta, Document de Travail N°4 Bamako Seminar 3-8 November 1980, Dakar 28 October 1980, pp. 4-5.

with varying degrees of enthusiasm, L'Ecole Fondamentale continues in a stage of exploration and experimentation.[1)]

20.19 In Kenya one sees yet another variety of the Upper Volta experience, this time not only in the sense of productive activities following, instead of being parallel to, the traditional first cycle curriculum but being separated from it by a period when primary school leavers 'have become disillusioned with their attempts in vain to obtain employment'. They were then taken into what came to be known as the Village Polytechnics (VP), preferably at the age of 18 or over. They were given a training devised to make them sufficiently competent to obtain a Grade 3 Trade Test in a trade for which there are clear opportunities[2)], although originally agriculture was intended to be an important, if not the dominant, element of the curriculum.[3)]

(d) The Contrasting Experience of Benin

20.20 Benin seems to be attempting in its New School a fusion of the traditional and the new emphasis on production and to be avoiding both the parallelism and the consecutiveness of the experiments mentioned above. 'At all levels, all schools are engaged in productive activities' which are currently being carried out in the second cycle of Basic Education in Mali : agriculture, stock-farming, craft and technical work, domestic science and art. The activities are meant not only to be educative but also to yield profits which can be progressively used to meet the cost of the school, excluding of course, the salaries of teachers.

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1) M. Ahmed and P.H. Colmbs : Education for Rural Development, New York 1975, p.225.

2) C.T. Eddy : Report, Methodist Commitment in Education in Africa, Community Oriented Education, March 1973, p.23.

3) As for 1), p.191.

(i) Two Pilot Schools

20.21 Two sources paint two different but complementary aspects of the Benin venture which need to be brought together. The first traces the origins of effort to one village school.[1] The second presents the new class of The New School at work in a second village.[2]

20.22 In the small village of Bensekou, a primary school was opened without much enthusiasm from the population who considered it a foreign body that took children off the work in the field. The teacher of the school, however, in addition to formal teaching, started with his 30 pupils to work in the fields and to sow cotton, the principal crop of the region. At the end of the first year, the sale of the crop brought 25,174 CFA francs, 68 per cent of which was used to buy clothing for the pupils. The second year brought in 83,395 CFA francs, 22 per cent of which was spent on clothing and 16 per cent on school equipment. The village was stimulated to copy the example of the school. After two seasons, it produced five times its former crop. The link between the school and the village, besides the parents association, was the youth association which was formed and which arranged for working contracts such as plantation and road maintenance. Finally, each of the pupils could buy a bicycle. It is claimed that when the Government decided to reform the primary school curriculum, the activities of the community and their school at Bensekou were 'taken into consideration as a pilot project for the creation of the New School or the school as a production unit', which shall be self-supporting and become the centre for 'the promotion of political, economic and social development'.

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1) R. Kayser : Communication of Innovations in NEIDA, Final Report of Regional Seminar on Information Support for Educational Innovation, Ouagadougou December 1978, pp. 40-41.

2) C.T. Eddy : Report, Methodist Commitment in Education in Africa, Community Oriented Education, March 1973, pp. 23-24.

20.23 The second pilot community school was at Dangbo. To walk into a classroom of that school was immediately to sense a change of atmosphere - children in groups, responsible for discipline and projects, working from experience and not by drill, busily engaged even with the teacher's attention taken by a visitor. Central to the school's philosophy was that it should help children to have an attitude which would accept the life of a village. Their geography, history, science was learned away from the school compound, in the village; parents came in unpaid to teach local crafts - and children took the pots they made to the village for firing. A lesson on pure water led to children making filters and giving them, with instructions, to their parents. A visit to an agricultural centre led to a gift of seeds that they passed on to their parents to plant and tend at home in the way that the children now showed them. In the year before this account was written, two school leavers actually made their first choice to work on a rice scheme. A start had been made of building a hostel as an extention of the school to prove that its philosophy could be lived out, that children could develop their full selves within the village community.

(ii) National Participatory Effort

20.24 Although the report concerned does not establish a link between the subsequent national reform of education, the Dangbo school anticipated the government 'decision to aim at integrated development with the school providing environmental studies' as offering 'a type of education and training that is in keeping with the needs of the developing countries'.[1] The essence of the school's methods - active participation by pupils in projects of environmental studies which relate theory and practice and theoretical work in the classroom with manual activities outside it - would seem to continue to be emphasized by the Benin authorities in the wider setting of the entire country according to a more recent report.

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1) C.S. Houéto : Basic Education in Benin in Basic Services for Children, Unesco/Unicef Co-operation Programme, Paris 1978, p.55.

20.25 Health education in the New School Programme, in an effort to achieve better health for all, has been particularly promoted in this way. A school health committee comprising the Headmaster, the Duty Teacher, one pupil general supervisor and ten other pupils, and constituting a body of internal animators, led the school in disease prevention service. Supportive health education in the classroom was built upon schemes of objectives and action to be taken in connection with, say, water pollution, danger of contamination, garbage removal, and flies as vectors of disease. At the village community level, health and social action brigades - composed of both teachers and pupils - linked school and community to bring about the necessary change.[1)]

20.26 Education in and through co-operatives is an equally important component of the curriculum of the New School. It is designed to cultivate an intelligent interest, not only in production but also in the benefits from the requisite activities, both for the individual participant and for his community. Each school therefore has its co-operative managed by the pupils themselves. An evaluation of the scheme in 1977 is alleged to have disclosed that it is highly educative in :

(i) initiating pupils to productive activities;

(ii) training in democracy and management;

(iii) the development of a sense of individual and collective responsibility;

(iv) fostering integration of the school into the community; and

(v) encouraging the school to be partially self-financing.[2)]

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1) Ministère de l'Enseignement du premier degré : Health Education in the New School Programme in Benin, Unesco/Unicef Co-operation Programme, Paris 1978, pp. 117-119.

2) R. Guedegbe : L'expérience béninoise en matière d'interaction entre éducation et travail productif, Working Document N°4, Meeting of International Experts on the Promotion of Productive Work in Education, 24-28 November 1980, p.5.

(iii) Problems

20.27 The documentation available, however, does not gloss over some very real problems which would indicate that the Benin experiment has some way to go to establish itself as an innovation. This observation does not diminish, though, the impressiveness of the vision that has inspired so much action, nor of the value of the favourable attitudes to work and health education cultivated, nor of the measure of appreciation discernible in the country of the place of co-operatives in social and economic action, much of which has stemmed from the new directions in the shaping of the content, methods and techniques of the New School.

20.28 But, for all that, the accent on close relationship between theory and practice has yet to be supported with programmes which can effectively promote an understanding of how science works or which use practical work to find out about science. Traditional agricultural methods and agricultural tools (mostly brought by pupils from home) have yet to be buttressed with appropriate technology. Impact is bound to be limited so long as teachers, in general, do not know a little more than the peasant farmer and so long as liaison between the unit of production and rural development bodies remains weak. There is even the risk that pupils may lose out on the numeracy, literacy and general education which full-time primary education can give them without acquiring the compensatory skills which appropriate technology can offer for the life of work after school.

20.29 Further, the support which the New School obtains from suitable learning and teaching materials is somewhat weak. Benin has not had the advantage of Kenya in its sixteen-year-old Kenya Institute of Education, nor of Uganda in a tradition of educational adaptation currently being continued in its National Curriculum Development Centre to keep the production of teaching materials in syllabuses and tests in step with changing curricula. This fact is confirmed by line 29 of Table V, which presents Benin as calling for experiences in the production of school equipment and didactic materials and Kenya and Uganda as being in a position to offer them.

20.30 Moreover, Benin's pupil/teacher ratio of 48 compared to Kenya's 33 and Uganda's 35 must compound the problems of teaching new curricula when, for example, in 1977 only 45 per cent of the total teaching force of 6326 'instituteurs' and 'institutrices' for Basic Education were considered to be qualified. The bulk of the unqualified teachers were the young revolutionary teachers (Jeunes Instituteurs Revolutionnaires, JIR) who taught initially for two years on a salary equal to 36 per cent of that of the qualified teacher after which they had the possibility of undertaking full-time teacher training. In a revolutionary situation, such as the Benin authorities describe it, the roles of activists and animators are bound to converge and even be mixed. It is the right balance within that mix that can convert the community, in the words of Graham Wallas, into a race of unqualified teachers and bring it close to the African indigenous pattern of education in which every adult is considered a potential teacher.[1)]

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1) Cf. R. Guedegbe : L'expérience béninoise en matière d'interaction entre éducation et travail productif, Working Document N°4, Meeting of International Experts on the Promotion of Productive Work in Education, 24-28 November 1980, p.6.

21. Training of Educational Personnel

21.1 The employment in Benin of JIRs in a scheme designed to provide teachers at a much faster rate than is possible in regular training institutions is but one of several pre-service and in-service programmes which African countries have used during the past two decades to meet the demands of an expanding service of education. Benin, it will be recalled from Table III, makes over some 5.1 per cent, according to its 1977 figures, of its GNP to education. 'And when that education', in the words of one observation in Learning To Be, 'yields few diplomas and even fewer productive citizens, it can no longer be content with solutions devised merely to improve "quality" of instruction in school or of teachers' training ... Such a country is compelled to tap new resources, no longer measurable in budgetary terms since - by definition - the budgetary resources have been exhausted. At this point "educational resources" takes on a new meaning : from then on, the entire means of the community are made available to all its members.'[1)]

(a) In Basic Education outside the school

21.2 In the stringent circumstances of the rural poor and in situations of deprivation in general in rural areas, the entire community becomes the educational resources. Nothing is lost by applying this principle to Basic Education outside the school system which, in fact, is what voluntary organizations in all the selected countries have been known to do with their meagre financial and human resources.

21.3 Ethiopia, however, offers a clear picture of what is possible. The guidelines prepared for the establishment of a Basic Education Programme and reproduced in Annex 1 of this Study, underlined the view that the recruitment of peasants as instructors must also be foreseen; for the fact that peasants may not be able

1) E. Faure : Learning to Be, quoting S. Lourié, Unesco Paris 1972, p.48.

to read and write does not exclude them from being able to give instruction in such areas as agriculture and craftsmanship.

21.4 In practice, selected peasants were attached to extension officers, craftsmen, health workers and so on. This proved to be a useful means of providing training for instructors from local committees. They were then entrusted with the task of passing on their knowledge to their fellow villagers. The lack of qualified people was not seen as a constraint to educational development. No preconceived standards of educational qualifications, which could not be found in the area, were followed.

21.5 The peasants were guided by the same basic principles in their recruitment of instructors who, as far as practicable, were selected from the area. Although the temptation for the educated or schooled to intervene on their behalf was always great, care was taken to encourage peasants themselves, from the very beginning, to exercise the right to select and supervise the work of instructors who were, in turn, answerable to them. It would seem that a process was thus set in motion in which learning and teaching had a chance of becoming a shared experience and a means of developing informed self-confidence and retaining trained personnel within the rural community instead of losing them, as so often happens, to the urban sector of the country.

21.6 This approach to the training of educational personnel in the conditions of rural Ethiopia would seem to have been amply vindicated in a recent seminar held at a village called Goba. The seminar was attended by unschooled peasants, including the Chairman of the Peasant Association and the Basic Education Committee, as well as the school Provincial Education Officer, Provincial Adult Education Supervisor and members of the Project's resource institution, the Basic Education Panel. It was supported by the staffs of the Provincial Education and the Regional Relief and Rehabilitation Offices. Two entries[1)] in the record of the seminar

1) Report on Basic Education Mission to Bale Region, 13-23 May 1980, pp. 10, 5, 6.

are informative and are quoted below as evidence of the result in self-confidence of learning by doing :

(i) 'At the Seminar it was obvious to me how the peasant representatives and government employees working closely with the peasants emphasized the possibilities and advantages whereas some of the officials emphasized the impossibilities, the difficulties and the imperfection of the Basic Education Programme.'

(ii) 'It was argued by some of the seminar participants that the accounting form suggested for the Basic Education Programme was too simple and that the financial administration did not comply with the Ministry of Finance regulation. Representatives of the Peasant Association strongly reacted to this argument. They said that they did not know any other form of accounting. If it was simple it was good that it was made so. Any way, they said, it was not made for people who are used to complicated accounting forms. The Basic Education fund is part of the community fund and it did not have to comply with the Ministry of Finance administrative regulations.'

21.7 It is tempting to read much into such confident remarks and to see them as marks of progress from destitute dependency to self-confident and self-reliant independence. But they certainly are the words of a people who are very much aware of their rural environment, with all its limitations and yet all its possibilities, and who are willing to learn and train themselves to improve it. They are rurally-minded and, in spite of much grumbling that emerges from time to time in journals of missions to them, they back up their rural-mindedness with a positive spirit of acceptance that an evolving Basic Education, guided by themselves and rooted in the environment, is part of the answer to their problems.

21.8 In the Somali campaign, the student/teachers were pitch-forked into a situation where they had to adjust quickly to the physical and human environment before they could be truly useful. It goes without saying that the Ramdulla Project equally requires the rural-mindedness of the Ethiopian peasants in the Basic Education Project in that country. It is a condition of success.

(b) In Basic Education through the school

21.9 Such rural-mindedness, together with the conviction and commitment behind it, is what is so often missing from Basic Education experiments at the level of the preparation of personnel for guiding experiments in schools. Dwelling on this point, without referring to what might be described as achievements in teacher-training for Basic Education in school, should not be interpreted as unawareness of positive gains. Such gains are well-known as may be seen, for example, in the Survey of Basic Education in Eastern Africa. What needs to be emphasized is the constraint on these very gains by the absence of rural-mindedness. A great deal has already been said on the subject of teacher-training and one can afford to stress this issue.

21.10 Two decades after the establishment of Bakht-er-Ruda its founding Principal, V.L. Griffiths, made the following admission :

> 'Though we lived in a rural environment, we failed to inspire the prospective elementary teacher with a passion for rural life and its improvement. Incidentally, we failed to maintain the physical roughness and intellectual isolation of a village existence. This result was hardly surprising in view of the fact that the climate of Sudanese opinion was at that time indifferent to, if not against, this idea, and that the staff ... while living in these rural surroundings and in general approving of the introduction of a certain amount of practical activities and of environmental studies, were not themselves rurally-minded.'[1)]

1) V.L. Griffiths : An Experiment in Education, Longmans 1953, p.28 (author's italics).

21.11 If anything, Griffiths' admission goes to show how much time would be required to bring about a re-orientation in attitudes in teachers, let alone the community, towards a desire to meet human need in the environment in which it is found, a desire which, in the African context, should breed the requisite rural-mindedness and a willingness to be identified with the rural environment. It cannot be said from the documentation consulted that rural-mindedness so described has acquired its rightful place in the pre-service or in-service preparation of educational personnel for Basic Education in school.

21.12 Nor can such rural-mindedness be said to be informing the work of teachers in charge of Basic Education Projects designed to improve the rural environment when the following comments can be made, as late as end-1980, for what they are guiding children and adults to do in primary schools, dispensaries, workshops, demonstration agricultural plots, and rural women's educational activities :

i. Although workshops were well-equipped, items being made by students were of the conventional type - namely small shelves and tables etc.;

ii. Nothing was yet being attempted to promote the production of appropriate items that might reduce the burden of work and improve the health of rural people such as maize shellers, water storage jars, smokeless cooking stoves;

iii. The health centres appeared to be concentrating on dispensing curative medicine rather than on teaching how to prevent illness;

iv. The demonstration agriculture plots, like those of many an African school, suffered from the inevitable neglect which follows a lack of commitment to such exercises by teaching staff and students and there was the usual failure to look after crops when schools were on vacation;

v. The section for the education of women was well-equipped with sewing machines which could only be of limited use in the rural situation;

vi. The programmes for the education of rural women concentrated on conventional 'home economics' approaches which stressed cooking, child care and home management but which failed to take into account the fact of the major role of women in the socio-economic life of the community. African women do much more than the project seemed to be aware of. They carry out such tasks as house-building, water procurement, cattle-minding, farming and marketing etc.[1)]

21.13 Nor can rural-mindedness be said to be impressively evident in the work of teachers when, as late as September 1980, the practical activities of a Basic Education Project in schools, to which agriculture is central, can be described in the following terms : 'Toutes ces activités ne sont pratiquées avec le même bonheur dans toutes les écoles. 115 écoles ruralisées seulement ont envoyé en 1978-1979 leurs rapports d'activités de ruralisation à la Direction de l'Enseignement Fondamental. Il est permis de penser que celles qui n'ont pas envoyé de rapports n'ont eu peu d'activités. Il est vrai que très souvent le matériel de travail manque (ou lors u'il existe, il est inadapté au travail du milieu, les maîtres non préparés à de tels travaux.'[2)]

21.14 When this whole question of rural-mindedness, conviction and commitment as principles deserving a place in teacher-training is pressed further, one finds that even in the much older project of Namutamba in Uganda, the fact emerges that at the time the project was scientifically evaluated in July 1975, tutors in charge of crops and animal husbandry were in fact, not scientists by training. Their participation in these major sectors of a rural project arose

1) Sources close to the Integrated Rural Education Centres Project in the Sudan.

2) Sources close to the Mali Project in Basic Education through the schools (author's italics).

out of personal interest, conviction and commitment perhaps, but not because their rural-mindedness had been sharpened by the requisite training. However, the substantive science tutor, university-trained, who should be providing the intellectual support for development of the project in these practical activities had 'little knowledge of the Project. What little he knew ... did not impress him and he obviously did not believe in the objectives or methods of the Project.'[1)]

21.15 The Evaluation Team, which made the observation mentioned above (and the fact must not be minimized that they had many a positive thing to say about the Project which are well-known) posed two questions of particular relevance to the third component of an educational strategy for Basic Education through the school - the preparation of educational personnel. First, can a project in Basic Education entirely rely on the factor of personal interest rather than induction in the tutor who trains the teacher for the project? Secondly, is there something fundamentally incompa ble about Project approaches in Basic Education through the school system and the traditional training given by universities to arts and science undergraduates, from whose ranks the trainers of teachers for primary schools are to be subsequently, and are increasingly being, recruited?

21.16 Applied to the selected countries, these questions would seem to lead to the conclusion that the objectives and methods of Basic Education have yet to be subjected to a rigorous examination at all three levels of education in the interest of the teacher and with a view to securing a general acceptance that induction in rural-mindedness as well as the knowledge and the skills to keep it alive is essential. It of course goes without saying that while peasants might be able to preserve their rural-mindedness in slowly improving conditions, much more would need to be done within the rural environment to keep the loyalty of the rural-minded trained teacher.

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1) Evaluation Report : FMR/ED/EDR/75/104 Prov. Paris July 1975, p.26.

21.17 In conclusion, evidence of the size of the tasks involved may be seen in the following Uganda Ministry of Education statement :

'Our programme of Rural Development, with Namutamba Project at its centre, has necessitated the establishment of an Inter-Ministerial Committee' on which Makarere University has a place[1]. Maximum co-ordination of thought and action is necessary to make Basic Education work.

1) Ministry of Education : Summary of Contribution to Proposed Network of Educational Innovation, Kampala 11 October 1975.

PART V

FINDINGS AND RECEOMMENDATIONS

22 Findings

22.1 The following are the main findings from the study.

22.2 It is possible to talk unreservedly about trends in innovational thought on Basic Education. But the evidence is by no means substantial that trends in innovative action have yet emerged. So far, efforts to meet various aspects of need in the three dimensions - the immediately material, the dimension of concerns shared among groups of African countries and the pre-occupations of the entire region - are exploratory in ways that are not new in the African experience. (Paras 3.6, 3.12)

22.3 One would tend to put experiments in Basic Education among pilot projects which have yet to be subjected to a process of trial and error and of repetition in different situations. More time has to be allowed for ideas and action to coalesce into forms which can justly be described as innovative trends or trends in innovation. We have yet to see experiments which have made'a major dent at the national level in theeducational or training problem they were designed to solve', let alone in a time-scale that will qualify them as trends. We see instead a scenario of efforts showing flashes of innovative thinking and insights towards what has been described as Universal Basic Education. (Para 3.16)

22.4 By the Nairobi Conference of African Ministers of Education of 1968, two trends inthought on Basic Education were beginning to emerge with increasing clarity. One trend saw the way forward as being <u>principally</u> through the formal educational system, an emphasis which that Conference and its successor at Lagos in 1976 seemed to have endorsed. The second trend, which had been high-lighted at a Conference at Kericho, Kenya, in 1966, saw the way forward as being <u>principally</u> through the adult community outside school and college.

22.5 The Report of the International Commission on the Development of Education, Learning to Be, set the seal on a movement in thought in which the two trends - the Nairobi and Kericho approaches - were distinguishable but destined to remain in adjusted and continually adjusting balance for the

purpose of ensuring that none is without, or deprived of,a service in education that is necessary to the quality of his life. The search continues in Africa for a formula on the balance to be maintained. This the Unesco/Unicef Co-operation Programme has tried to assist the African countries to do. (Paras 6.9, 7.11? 8)

22.6 Whereas Conferences, Studies and the Unesco/Unicef Co-operation Programme have guided thought on Basic Education through the school or outside it, African countries have themselves contributed valuable elements to the international experience from which a refined form of collective thinking is emerging. African countries draw on this cumulative experience to construct not only their own national guides to thought and action but also bench marks for assessing the results of action. A number manage, in the process, to overcome a difficulty inherent in a movement in thought which provides the language of Basic Education for all to interpret in their own way.

(Para. 9.7)

22.7 Among the concerns of groups of countries which influence thought on Basic Education are: the heavy hand of an educational system of foreign origin that is resistant to change; sub-regional political demands; economic growth for human contentment and political stability; and the incidence of poverty and privation. These issues carry different weights in different groups of countries. Where they are felt keenly, action in Basic Education has to take account of them since they tend to resist, or promote, or complicate matters for, change.

22.8 There is a trend in thinking about objectives in which a somewhat negative but generally widespread dissatisfaction with practices is being slowly converted into positive guides to action. This conversion is taking place in educational in-

stitutions which prepare teachers for primary school classes and the first cycle of the secondary school, the Basic Education rungs of the educational ladder. The teachers these institutions train, however, have little chance of keeping abreast of international and regional thinking. They do not narmally form part of the regular clientele of international and regional meetings, although it is only they who can give authentic content to the immediate objectives of Basic Education. The indications are slim that this fact is as widely appreciated as it should be.(Paras 12.14, 12.15)

22.9 Africa shares a new consensus hich has emerged in the course of a critical examination of earlier assumptions and has led to the demand for a more 'integrated' and'community-based' approach to rural development. The Lagos Plan of Action adopted by the Assembly of OAU Heads of State and Government for the economic development of Africa contains evidence of this.(Para 13.20)

22.10 One hard fact that needs to be more deeply apprec-iated in relation to integrated community-based development is that there is a limit to what can go into a school time-table in terms of classroom and out-of-class activities. There is also a limit to the number of years which the majority of African children can be expected, in the foreseeable future, to spend in school. The time-scale of limited hours in the school-day and limited years in the first phase of life-long education impose a ceiling on what can be packed into them for children who, in all probability, would not proceed beyond that phase, even if they complete it at all. Presumably, beyond the first six or seven years, time can be found for the inculcation of productive skills. Below them, however, the business of acquiring the rudiments of literacy, numeracy, primary science and related understanding of the extending physical and human environment, primary health care and nutrition requirements, being a citizen and an indivdual - with the mental skills and character that must go with it - that is a full-time occupation for children at that level of education. The full-time tasks, properly performed in intensely practical and relevant situations, can underpin the development of productive capacity in bothrural and urban areas.(Paras 13.14, 13.15)

22.11 A good primary system, with all this involves in teacher-training (and rewards), universal, if possible, at least widely spread and carrying signs of effort to achieve equity within it, is probably the most vital target for the general health and energy of a nation. This, to all intents and purposes, is what the majority of African countries can confidently aim at in the foreseeable future as the indispensible portion of a Basic Education programme in schools.(World Year Book of Education,1974; Para 13.17)

22.12 One assumption which should be made more widely in relation to Basic Education outside the school but which is rarely made is this - the health of the body politic is as much dependent on the health of each identifiable human group within itas the human body derives its health and energy from each of its several parts. A human group within a nation take away from its health if that group is illiterate, innumerate, too poor and too ignorant to understand and provide the basic needs of primary health care and other things for themselves and children. They are unlikely to be able to raise their purchasing power, upon the general level of which (among other things) a nation's economic strength depends, let alone raise children with the capacity of learning, who can grow up into energetic and productive adults. Hence the need for deserving attention to be given to the Kericho approach.(Paras 13.22, 13.23, 13.28, 13.29)

22.13 Action in Basic Education ranges between two polarised positions, one concentrating on the school, the other directed towards the poor and deprived. The emerging pattern within the entire spectrum broadly features two kinds of activities closer to where the school stands and the other two kinds nearer the other end. At the school end is the effort through the school itself and that which reaches it from a teacher-training institution. At the other end is the effort on behalf of unschooled youth and adults employed or self-employed on the one hand and on behalf of the unschooled and deprived human groups on the other. (Paras 14.3, 14.4, 14.7, 14.11)W

176

22.14 These four main kinds of effort are not new in the African experience. Nor were their precursors rudimentary in conception. There are therefore valuable lessons to be learnt from the African experience which would help build into re-

surgent projects the necessary precautionary measures to avoid a recurrence of past failures.(Paras 16.7 - 16.10)

22.15 If there is one trend which is evident in all the ten countries selected for this Study, it is the political will to work, at all cost, towards universal primary education. Considerable progress has been made.(Paras 17.3, 17.8)

22.16 A pattern is evolving whereby a very loose area teacher-training organisation and the primary schools for which it trains teachers is giving way to a much more closely-knit association of a teacher-training nuclear centre and a net-work of associated schools.(Para 17.18)

22.17 The emerging structure is having to rely not only on internal initiatives but also on external support from curriculum developers constituting different kinds of resource institutions both for schools and communities outside them.(Para 17.21)

22.18 The resource institution for the Ethiopian experiment in Basic Education for the unschooled and deprived would seem to have been one of the most systematically developed, its records of built-in evaluation measures being among the most enlightening.(Paras 17.23, 19.7)

22.19 It istempting to interpret financial allocations to Basic Education and other levels of education as a reflection of an order of priority in which the former is given a less important place than it deserves. In particular, Basic Education outside the school is still being largely paid for from voluntary sources.(Paras 18.7, 18.8)

22.20 Institutional holding power would seem to be generally improving as far as schools are concerned. Outside the schools, however, the phenomenon of drop-out is not a concern.(Paras 19.10, 19.16)

22.21 Curricula in Basic Education outside the school have tended to evolve in response to need, an indispensable approach when survival is the principal determinant of action. As regards what is learnt at school, increasing attention is being given to questions of suitably-adapted content, teaching syllabuses, textbooks, methods of teaching and techniques and examinations. Efforts are also extending beyond national frontiers in search of new ways of tackling related common problems in a spirit of readiness to exchange experiences. Appropriate

support is assured from the newly-established Network of Educational Innovations in Africa(NEIDA).(Paras 20.2, 20.8)

22.22 While production is a concern in current thinking on suitable content for schools and agriculture is so far the principal means available of becoming productive, the best ways of inculcating agricultural skills are not among the experiences offered or sought in the exchange programme of African countries selected for the Study. The paradox would seem to be one expression of the difficulty inherent in the process of educational change in Africa whereby the certainties of the past combine with the uncertainties of new departures to produce, at best, an ambivalent attitude towards change and, at worst, a conflict in the minds of many.(Paras 20.12,20.13)

22.23 Schemes are being mounted for training the required educational personnel at a much faster rate than is possible in regular training institutions. They range from the skilful use and training on the job of unschooled persants to various types of in-service and pre-service training programmes. For the formidable task of integrated community-based rural development, it would seem to be necessary to inspire mediators of Basic Education in training with a passion for rural life and its improvement, an objective which has been easier to achieve in Basic Education outside the school than within it. (Paras 21.5, 21.10, 21.13)

23. Recommendations

23.1 Three recommendations are offered, all of them related to specific studies that might be conducted to further the cause of Basic Education.

23.2 Two kinds of study will be necessary to provide African countries with a clearer picture of the African experience in Basic Education in the light of which they can identify forces that have moulded and affected their efforts in the past and be better able to guide new experiments along safer and more secure lines of action and away from pitfalls which would otherwise not be known to exist.

23.3 The first study might take the form of a historical review of intiatives in African education which, in the absence of an authoritative work on the history of education in Africa, will provide a much-needed frame of reference. In it should be seen the fortunes of the precursors of many a current effort in Basic Education together with indications of the sources and causes of their strength and weaknesses.

23.4 The second study might comprise a set of detailed study of projects in Basic Education in which current action is examined in history in order to assemble authentic material on which re-orientation in educational strategies can be based.

23.5 The Ethiopian experiment in Basic Education outside the school system would seem to be in a class by itself. It is a rare case of a detailed documented project. It will reward an intensive researched study.

ANNEX

PROCEDURE FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF A BASIC EDUCATION PROGRAMME IN A DEPRIVED COMMUNITY

STAGE 1.

1. Obtain a request for the programme which is to be implemented from the Provincial Education Office, the Settlement Authority, The Relief Commission or any other appropriate organization or agency. This request should, if possible, be in writing.

2. Discuss the nature of Basic Education with the relevant authorities and organizations if necessary and provide them with documentation on all aspects of the programme.

3. Obtain official letters authorising the Basic Education staff to implement the programme in the area, settlement, village, etc., as the case may be.

4. Carry out a careful pre-implementation survey, on the spot, and in the company of local officials whenever possible.

5. Visit the local community or communities and discuss the programme with them. Encourage people to come forward and to state their problems and difficulties. Find out what their priorities are for development. These will differ from place to place. In some cases a well will be a priority, in others the elimination of rats or other pests, in others the prevention of malaria and so on.

6. It should be made clear that help will not be in the form of cash grants, equipment, machinery, etc. It should be explained that the purpose of the programme is to encourage the active participation of the people in their own development and to lead them towards self-reliance and the ability to solve their own problems. They should understand, however, that guidance and help will be forthcoming and that this can result in positive improvemen in their living conditions.

7. Find out what resources exist within the village - both human and material. Even in the most destitute communities it will be found that children can make ink and pens and there will be people such as craftsmen, midwives, medicine men, weavers, leather workers and others who can be selected for some training or for periods of instruction from extension workers. Once given some training they can then be made responsible for passing on what they have learnt to their fellow villagers.

8. Find out whether there are any literate members of the community. Even if

they have had only a few years of schooling they will be able to make a contribution to the teaching of literacy and numeracy. Do not leave people out because their level of schooling is regarded as inadequate or because it does not accord with outside 'standards'. It is essential to begin with what the people have and with what they know. To do otherwise will be to put development beyond the capacity of deprived and neglected communities and to make progress a remote possibility.

9. Find out who the people are who do the building in the community - the men or the women. Find out who the people are who do the roof thatching, etc.

10. Find out what local organizations exist, e.g: Peasants' Association, Women's Association, Cooperatives, etc., and whether there is any representation on Revolutionary Development Committees, etc. Where such local organization is non-existent or inadequate a priority for educational purposes is guidance in the formation and operation of such committees.

STAGE 2.

11. Discuss with the local education office and administration who is to be responsible for the supervision of the Basic Education programme in the area.

12. Identify someone acceptable to the local community and preferably in consultation with them who has had some years of schooling and who can be given responsibility for carrying out liaison duties between the community and the local authorities. If possible this person should live in the community and it is essential that he should speak the local language.

13. Arrange for the training of the supervisor and the Liaison Officer in Addis Ababa in the Basic Education workshop in the principles and practices of Basic Education.

14. Arrange during the training exercise for the trainees to establish contact with appropriate development Ministries and organizations. Their training should include:-
soil-brick making, the construction of solar cookers, greenhouses, cement jars, maize shellers, etc.
They should be helped to obtain suitable seeds for vegetable plots and be oriented in the facilities offered by:-
Agri-Service, Malaria Prevention, The Nutrition Institute, The Institute of Agricultural Research, EPID, etc.

They should visit the Mercato and see craftsmen at work there and also visit Handicrafts Centres.
They should see: carpet making, improved looms for weaving and various types of pumps for water-raising.
They should also find out where help can be obtained in the making of hand-dug wells.
Liaison officers should also be encouraged to set up model houses and compounds in which they can live with their families but which will also serve as an example to other villagers of improved ways of living.

15. Once this initial training has been completed the trainees should try to establish the following in the community:-
Literacy and numeracy classes for all and without restriction. The organization and administration should be left, as far as possible, to village communities and questions relating to the recruitment of instructors the scheduling of classes and the enrolment of pupils should be determined by the people. Help and advice should, however, be provided by the Liaison Officer and the Supervisor but they should not attempt to control the administration and oblige it to conform to conventional school standards. The people's needs and wishes are paramount and it is essential that they accept responsibility for organizing their own programmes.

16. Certain members of the community should be selected for training. This training should not be seen in terms of lengthy courses of instruction but can be in the form of attachment to craftsmen, extension workers, health and agricultural specialists, visits to farms and workshops, etc. The period of training should not be rigid or lengthy and it should fit in with the people's own needs. It should also be made clear that anyone who receives training is expected to pass on what is learnt to others.

17. Attempt to establish cooperatives, e.g: for building with soil bricks, for the breeding of fish, poultry, etc., for eradicating pests, for making roads, wells, etc.

18. Make arrangements for the provision of buildings for basic services, e.g: rooms for instructional purposes, workshops, clinics, community centres, etc

19. Provide a means of bringing information to the community, e.g: by means of a centre where pamphlets, leaflets, booklets and other reading materials can be kept and consulted. Where possible it would also be useful to have

a place where groups of people could listen to radio programmes.

20. Arrange for visits to be paid to the nearest health, agricultural, nutrition and water resource specialists, etc., by leaders of peasants' associations or their representatives. If possible, also arrange for visits to the village by the specialists themselves so that they obtain first-hand experience of living conditions and have a better understanding of the nature of the problems which the people have to face.

21. Arrange for subsidies to be paid to the local associations for educational purposes and give training in simple accountancy. Wherever necessary provide simple tools and equipment to enable them to do basic agricultural and practical work.

STAGE 3.

22. Arrange for regular discussions with the people on such matters as:- attendance at literacy classes; the progress being made, training provided to selected peasant representatives, its usefulness, etc. village problems needing solution and requiring corporate action, provision of buildings, stores, etc., for basic services.

23. If possible, arrange for programmes recorded on cassettes to be listened to and discussed. Also record accounts of local history, stories, etc., in the local language - particularly from the old people - as these will provide valuable reference material later on.

24. Arrange for groups to be organized to listen to broadcasts and to discuss them.

25. Arrange for people to see and to discuss slide sets or film strips.

26. Arrange for local people to listen to readings from information leaflets, pamphlets, booklets, etc., and to discuss their contents.

27. Arrange for very young children to be taken care of while their older sisters and mothers are freed to take part in other activities which will help the family's economic position. Older girls could do this work in turn or alternatively they could be paid by the community in cash or in kind for carrying out these duties. The young children can be told stories, play games and learn to work together as well as have their simple health needs looked after.

28. Arrange for periodic evaluations of development progress to be made. This

should be done by the people themselves and not by peasants' associations alone. All should be involved in discussions on whether their needs are being met, whether their problems are being solved and whether they have learnt what is relevant to them. In addition extension agents and local officials could be invited to take part in such exercises. However they should not dominate them but make sure that their participation is on equal terms with the people as a whole.